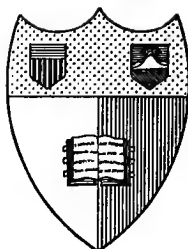


PATRIOTIC
ESSAYS

ELROY HEADLEY





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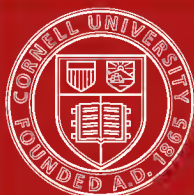
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PATRIOTIC ESSAYS



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The Statue of Liberty—Bedloe's Island in New York Harbor. Lighted by electricity for the first time during the presidency of Woodrow Wilson, 1916. *See page 169.*

PATRIOTIC ESSAYS

Third Edition

BY
ELROY HEADLEY



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May, 1916—October, 1916—September, 1917

ELROY HEADLEY

DEDICATION

WHEN a people proclaim Liberty they must also proclaim Law, for laws are necessary to define Liberty and all the functions of Government are derivatives of definition and limitation. We need not envy men wealth if they have made the nation a more beautiful and more productive place in which to live, blotting out disease and economic error, making the deserts flower with fruitage, and the people individually well fed, well sheltered, and well clothed. Learn the passions, the beliefs, the arts, the romance, and the characters of men, for the delicate flowers of passion can be studied, their keen insight into the affairs of men can be transfigured and reproduced in our own lives, and the genius of the past grafted upon the strength of the present. Mark Twain and William Shakespeare provide enough humor and serious thought to any student who can stage their idealism, to enthrone him in the eternal heart of humanity, as they are enthroned in the Hall of Fame, because they lived, felt, understood, and portrayed for men their inmost purposes with the skilful comprehension of acute intellectual power. The great lesson for leading men is to dedicate their lives to the preservation of social order, the lawyer to organize and direct business, the merchant to contribute to society a proper distribution of commodities, the

toiler to faithfully perform every task, and the doctor to relieve the ills of humanity, all working together, all for one and each for all. Enthusiasm need not be quenched, nor the opportunities for genius restricted, to continue an impartial distribution of all social obligations. Established precedents must never be unceremoniously overturned but rather carefully studied and their lessons learned.

History has been re-written since the first edition of "Patriotic Essays" was introduced to the American people and the need of the application of its principles in the daily routine of our national life has become more and more apparent. Through the columns of our daily press, the call sounded: "Americans awake! . . . Be prepared to defend Righteousness and Justice," for unity in Patriotism and good-will in industrial relationships are essential to our national welfare. The solution of the controversies and strife among men, leading ultimately to some form of permanent international peace, will come through the principles of good-will and understanding of the rights of men, as are exemplified in the fraternal spirit of American institutions.

The application of the American principles of patriotism, fair play, brotherly kindness, and business good-will, in their relationship to the lives of living men, speak the success of Democracy to constantly diminish all inequalities of citizens and keep all employed in useful service at living wages. American enterprise has weathered all storms by cooperation and organization, and the American commercial spirit is exemplified in fair dealings, truthful-

ness, honesty, and justice, revealing the throbbing heart of humanity, calling men to brotherhood and kindly service. To the perpetuation of the influence of this organized fraternal Spirit now throughout the United States and in some future time of universal peace, throughout the civilized world, this third edition of "Patriotic Essays" is respectfully dedicated by the Author.

ELROY HEADLEY.

PREFACE

THE greatest things of life are the thoughts, the memories, the ideals and inspirations of the world's authors, and statesmen; markings upon the tablets of time have built the symbolic temple of earth's civilizations, and ever the still small voice is heard above the roar of the tempest, to calm fears, wipe away tears, and dispel enmity and oppression by planting the beautiful flowers of love and brotherhood in every garden of human life. The truly great thinker is always calm and deliberate without manifestation of partiality or fear of the ultimate conquest of truth over fallacy. Wherefore should we worry, when we have done our little best; for all things are working together for good, and with every warning we sound the call for the ultimate triumph of righteousness. True we have stretched the bounds of our civilization to the uttermost, but they have not broken. Scientific management of the Republic has become a reality, and common sense and reason the cornerstones for every action of our rulers.

In the future we will conserve the qualities and talent of our citizens, as well as the resources of the Country, strengthen authority, and organize thrift, profiting from every experience of the past and establishing our social structure upon sound theories.

Learn that each individual life is real and earnest, for the education of individuals is the fountain of the character of the men and women of the next generation. Every trend these days is toward the increase of individual efficiency, of every man, woman, and child in massed formation, to accomplish great things for the Spirit of Liberty among men, not to make each independent of all, but to emphasize the duty each owes to live not unto himself alone. Every American should be a soldier, broadening the mind, developing the body, determined to enforce right and protect against wrong. As Righteousness is more precious than peace and honor than gold, Democracy looks forward to a glorious future, where a universal dominion of Right shall encompass the affairs of all mankind. With the first and second editions of "Patriotic Essays" dedicated to "Business Good-will," hundreds of letters were received from those highest in authority in America, lauding the stand for Fraternalism and co-operative good-will, eliminating injustice from the by-ways of human activities, and making smooth the rough places in the haunts of men. The leaders who bring blessings to mankind are those who teach men to battle courageously for the right with patience and perseverance, with confidence in the ultimate victory of mind over matter. Men pay dearly for total abstinence from adventure and hazard, in a cramped, money-making, unsympathetic existence, for we are all partners in this great democratic nation, united in true unity for the profit and welfare of all. Our toleration of the views and opinions of each other should be as expanding

as the heavens' blue, that we shall not judge each other any more, but each strive to outdo the other in service. There is a higher patriotism and a broader international purpose than the wrecking of empires, and America now has the opportunity to organize forces more powerful than armies and navies and to demand the recognition of Justice for all nations in their international dealings, without fear or favor, and without bias or reward. The Stars and Stripes forever stand to advance the cause of humanity, to develop broadminded, progressive toleration, making the world safe for Democracy and eliminating all hatreds and elements of vice and greed from the relationships of men with men.

This third edition of "Patriotic Essays" is but another step in the evolution of our National thought, and with thankful appreciation of the toil of those who have trodden the way before, plucking the flowers from amidst the foliage of the acknowledged truths of our civilization, we struggle ever against fallacy and wrong.

ELROY HEADLEY.

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INTRODUCTION

I AM more and more impressed with the need of "Business Good-will" in this Republic. When we consider that only one business enterprise out of ten meets success, admit that the man who enters upon an independent career has nerve, and the man who succeeds has both luck and ability. It is an element of patriotism to reverence the successful business men of America, and Our Nation must request and heed the advice and admonitions of men experienced in affairs. I do not confuse Producers with the hordes of money lenders and speculators who consider it a business to prey upon business. The business men are the great Captains of Industry of America, the great Organizers and Common Carriers, the manufacturers, the farmers and masters of commercial activity. Let us extend to every such leader congratulations for business success, and never begrudge the reward for useful service.

The American spirit stands for the preservation of our Free Institutions, for the advancement of industry and commerce, and for the highest civilization the world has ever known. Yet we should not be overconfident, for every civilization has failed in some fundamental quality which has wrought its disintegration and left only its expression in literature by which to judge its strength and shortcomings. The

time for the introduction of doctrines and rules of conduct for administration has passed, but the work of solving many problems of our social, civil, and political organization is still in progress. Our national weakness or strength depends upon the public interest in the affairs of the day, and the necessity must be recognized of directing the efforts of all the people toward maintaining the personal thrift, industry, and righteous conduct of every citizen of the Republic.

PATRIOTIC ESSAYS

PATRIOTIC ESSAYS

THE PHILOSOPHY OF AMERICA

PROFOUND truths in the world of thought, just as inventions in the world of industry, are discovered and defined through peculiar, individual experiences, and when once defined, immediately appear self-evident to every rational and intelligent mind. The Philosophy of America is a new thought, turning away from the insidious subtleties and fanciful, flimsy, dogmatic discussions of medieval antagonisms, to a crystallization of a doctrine of the virtue of honest expression of truth, and the ethical accomplishment of altruistic deeds. Even here rites and ceremonies are not dismissed and forgotten for, by discarding these, we discard teaching by the sense of impressions, and music, art, poetry, and all accumulations of beautiful expression are part of the world's civilization. No mind of genius is distinctly original, but being set on fire by the genius of other minds, there is conceived an expression of what was conceived theretofore but never before expressed. The divergence of impression upon canvas from expression in literature is simply a matter of the mental character and training of genius. In a narrative of events, we have the drama

described in chapters, and so impartial good-will and equality of opportunity for all is the essence of the new American philosophy based upon intelligent co-operation and conscientious justice.

Prominent men in industries, professions, and politics must be held in tutelage and under protection, because thus they are safer, more useful and have the fullest opportunity for self-development. Often the greatest genius needs most of all a capable manager. An atmosphere of large opportunity attracts natures of social and political independence; thus an aristocracy of eminent and influential men is formed, and where wealth permits novel experiences in American family life, there arises a high degree of the essential qualities of cultured manhood, which can appreciate sympathy for inequality, yet insisting upon discipline and respect, realizing that material power of productiveness is the primary summum bonum of society as far as national affairs are concerned. The foundation of this characterization is to keep the greatest number of physical workers possible in the field, for there are in every nation large classes of men who are not engaged in productive pursuits, and the fewer of these there are, the more fortunate is the people.

The history of society shows that institutions and habits change slowly, and broad movements in political life are difficult to observe and more difficult to define. But when a people proclaims liberty they proclaim law, for laws define liberty and all functions of Government are functions of definition and limitation. The survival of the fittest is a fundamental

rule of evolution, and declarations of liberty define the order of the operation of society. Whereas every man is entitled to all productions of his labor, society steps in, in the form of law, and says, you shall not use your own so as to injure another, and as it is only the use of property that has any tangible value, law actually is a depriving limiting force to action. Then equity adds another term to the equation in the command that all persons shall use their acquired property rights for the best welfare of all with whom they come in contact. A great conflict arises over every application of these extensions of law and equity, and again and again property owners resist the application of such restrictions, but it has already become a recognized rule in every nation, where democratic principles have penetrated, that every man has an indisputable right to the use of all his personal powers, and the enjoyment of all the fruits of his labors, to the greatest possible extent, consistent with the highest welfare of all his fellow-men.

America seethes with a bewildering, racking unrest, as the illusions of many dreams break, and blindly competing races struggle in a relentless conflict of irreconcilable forces. Men speak in hushed whispers, of the toiling women and children in dangerous factories, of the man-made earth tremors which swallow the stout-hearted youth of every land, of a new positive inventive spirit, not of experiment, not of progress, but of necessary immediate active application of force to force. Armed neutrality is quickly melted into armed Democracy, for seeking

inalienable right, to enjoy the individualistic freedom of home life; competition is discovered to be war, and again Republicanism is forced to defend every liberty against the aggression of armed combative monarchy. The very vastness of the dissolution of empires and peoples makes us pause and in the silent moment of thought, we are awakened to the consciousness of the ominous tread of relentless hosts, rushing to the succor of free institutions, that they may not perish, and the hand of time be again set back until men learn that laws and governments are made for men, and not men to be the slaves of enthroned greed. The less government governs the better; the more it establishes order and equity, the better; the sooner men reverence and respect the kindred blood and social soul of an incarnate humanity, the better. Men have always recognized the right of revolution, but we have now a new philosophy of the inalienable rights of societies of men and nations, in world-wide property privilege, for if a man brings nothing into this world and takes nothing out, how is the world the loser; and if he has rendered his quota of service, wherefore is the world not the beneficiary? Why do we envy every man his property wealth if he renders service, and wherefore envy national developments making the world a more beautiful and productive place in which to live? This is the new philosophy of democracy, arising from the terrible, horrible maelstrom of human destruction, which has placed every household of entire nations in mourning, and in the brighter days when the world is a safer place for honest toiling men, when piracy

and exploitation shall cease, mankind will learn to labor to live and live to labor that all their fellows be freed from pestilence and penury.

Bestowing unearned favors is the crime of business in politics and politics in business. There is nothing humorous when a newspaper is paid for telling or not telling the truth, or when a public service corporation is compelled to buy what it is entitled to or pays for what it is not entitled to. The people are entitled to know the truth spoken by their organs of publicity, without fear, without favor and without expectation of reward, and likewise corporations are public servants entitled to the utmost confidence, assistance, and good-will which a sovereign people is able to bestow upon them. We waste natural resources by retarding just improvements, by reading untrue, fictitious, and vicious literature, and permitting strong, able-bodied men to waste their time in sinecures. Society must cling to rules of law and order, but we have outgrown blind, dishonest disregard of waste of state treasures, and the big gambler as well as the little gambler, the big politician as well as the lowliest office seeker, the higher up and the lower down, corrupters of the consciences of men, are all brought to bar to answer to the charge of contempt for the sovereignty of the general weal and welfare of the commonwealth.

Nationally we are astounded at our moderation and determinate confidence that not only shall right triumph but the impossibility of the return of past conditions be assured. Our laws have granted little protection to an investor and no protection at all to a,

producer and competitor. We have compelled business corporations to found their stability upon force, wealth, and power, instead of upon productive capacity, with no regulation of supply and demand except the destruction of weak competing firms, and the control of supply has therefore been the great source of power. Unrestricted immigration has exploited our boundless resources, reducing women and children to labor, while men were unemployed, and it is ridiculous that labor has denied the right of criminals to engage in competing production, yet calling upon the foreigner to lower prices, not perceiving that lower wages in all lines must necessarily follow. In order to bring order out of the chaos of individualistic competition, to hold prices to a reasonable level, to protect our monopolized natural resources from waste and depletion, and solve the problems of political corruption and social extravagance, we must compel every American youth and maiden to attend the public schools during some reasonable period with the unexceptionable aim and determination for each to learn to solve some perplexing difficulty of life, to know useful service and engage in active life pursuits.

There is no plutocracy in America, and if some penniless wizards have become millionaires, there is no taint to their wealth except that of hard work and honest toil. The business leaders of America have been without exception men of sterling integrity, else they never could have risen from the ranks, trammelled by lesser baser men of low degree. American immoderation simply defines modern financiering

as an American invention, which has arisen because some device had to be invented by which to hold in store the increments of exported resources until national need and necessity demanded the return of the guarded public treasures. The early lives of our millionaires were spent in accumulating wealth, the later years in distributing its treasures in avenues of world-wide charity, and never yet has any clear grounds for individual or corporation condemnation arisen. Every great quasi-public corporation is controlled by an elective board or group of stockholders and every qualification of a republican corporate government is equally applicable to proper business management, where hundreds of thousands of citizens can be employed in useful and profitable labor, each with his own duty and responsibility. Our giant monopolies actually are governed by constitutions and by-laws, operating as little states within the states, and as we do not fear wealthy men in the states, or if we fear them, as we successfully control their power, so the fear of corporate wealth is groundless, for it is neutralized by corporate control. Let every citizen be law abiding, casting the beam from his own eye; let every citizen be industrious, giving his undivided attention to his personal, individual job, whence he derives his livelihood; let us have less unfounded and unreasonable criticism, and we will discover that we are not attacking causes nor even symptoms of disease, but the press has sought to conform its teachings to public opinion and the blind have been led by the blind.

If monopoly conserves our national resources,

increases efficiency, encourages genius, and regulates production and distribution, who benefits more than the nation at large, and shall we measure by any other measure than the benefit received? Many men are spending their lives magnifying business frailties, who ought to be at work solving admitted known difficulties; "genius run amuck" we may label them, and request their speedy return to recognized fields of beneficial activity. Legislators know that in reality bribery is as rare as criminal theft, and the betrayal of trust by responsible public servants is as rare as bank defalcation. Who dares intimidate a Court, a juror, a legislator, a representative of American free-born people; certainly no one if the people know it, and the wretched brood of political blacklegs is purely imaginary. The lobbies maintained by corporations in legislative halls are almost entirely defensive, to counteract inflamed demagogues and radicals, whose speeches and activities are not the deeds of sane men. Every political creed seeks legislative expression, and what is government but the arena of the contention of forces of control, over local and national action, where the best man wins. The business leaders are the soul of national industry, they feel the heart throb of the welfare of trade, manufacturing and commerce, and their proper place is near the helm of state to guide affairs aright. There is no reason for any secrecy about matters of this sort, for the plain-spoken, open-minded American people must not permit themselves to be blinded and hoodwinked to facts, for we demand and will have our individual and national efficiency second

to none, and all preferment of one over another shall be because of virtue, of merit, and of capacity for accomplishment. Let us justify the survival of all that is good, pure and of true report, think on these things and admit that after all a far-seeing providence leads us through paths of national glory aright to do honor to Republicanism.

It is not necessary to take a vow of poverty in order to be a true American, and never should a statesman abandon his post because of any temporary triumph of piratical business, nor surrender his office to men representing corrupt influences. Corrupting influences will exert power over men seeking preferment, but the source of corruption is never business, although it may be greed in business, but as a matter of fact we believe it seldom to be even that, but consistently to originate in the avarice of men employed in unproductive avenues of activity. Politics has been a business, but it should not be; it is statesmanship and equally a means of a livelihood, and both of these it should be. It is right for monopolies, interlinked by bonds of similarity of interest, to combine for self-protection of their privileges and rights, and the people do not in reality suffer from uniform fair rates, because with all the cumulated, combined influences of corporate ingenuity, as a matter of fact, ten legislators out of every ten are for the people every time, and the corporations are controlled with the sole aim of popular welfare in view. Look back over American history and show where facts prove corporations control, or show where bribery has passed laws to ruin our institutions. It

cannot be shown and it is not true. Let us then tell the truth, and give credit to our great-hearted self-made captains of industry, that after all is said, they have done well, and America, guided by her nobleness of purpose, will, to the best of her ability, transpose and spread over the whole world confidence in the integrity of individual manhood, free to mould its destiny, untrammelled by fear and unfettered by avarice and greed.

The Courts of the United States of America, through successive generations, have successfully preserved all constitutional rights inviolate, and with liberties added but no rights lost, protect still intact the heritage of a free people. It is fortunate that our judicial system is extremely intricate, working through appeals, decisions, and counter decisions, or we could never have preserved inviolate all our free institutions against popular upheavals, for here have struck the strongest bolts of lightning, and thunders rumbled loudest. The public has been loath to admit that full individual privileges shall be enjoyed by corporations, especially when these corporations appear as monopolies, so that the most successful attacks upon our social freedom has come from popular agitation to destroy legal monopoly, not realizing that competition is in its very nature self-destructive, wasteful, and disastrous. Competition destroys profit, causes bankruptcies, and by its harsh conscienceless conduct of affairs encourages theft, blackmail, and personal antagonism. Moreover, there can never be a national control or supervision over competition, while over monopoly it is

immediate and efficient. The second great attack has been continued against freedom of the press, both for definition and for restriction, but we may well believe the press free from all limitations, except possibly dictatorial proclamations in times of actual warfare.

The good moral judgment of the American people, we have conclusively proved, can be relied upon, with far-sighted philosophical consideration, to mould a public opinion in every controversy, ultimately to disintegrate every fallacy. An ordinary business man learns an immediate discrimination, and we can watch him sift out a morning's mail, throwing into the waste paper basket unopened, thousands of letters on dogmas, petitions, inspirations, fads, and theories, but faithfully preserving every trade suggestion and order. Every need of every individual is systematically and carefully considered, scrutinized, reproduced and satisfied, if perchance some new benefit to man may be created, and never in the world's history has there ever been such a stupendous development from chaos into progress and social order, as in this democracy of ours. Every industrial responsibility is fulfilled without murmur or regret, business concentration has mended every industrial evil, and in our new commercial expansion and economic development the immediate problem is to give absolute and positive permanence to this well-organized, healthy community service. Never before in history have contagious diseases been so blotted out, never was society so secure, never were men so generally and contentedly employed, the deserts and

swamps flowering with fruitage, industry and education equally effective, and the people individually prosperous, well fed, well sheltered, and well clothed. Our educational, artistic, and humanitarian ideals have made all the peoples of the world clamorous for democracy, so that monarchy trembles and truly uneasy is every crowned head.

The tendency also of individual incomes, wages, and profits is always to seek a level, so that profits, wages, and income should never be used to wage a war against profit. There is no economic satisfaction in hoarding wealth, and in that sense, the vow of poverty would benefit every toiler, for financial worries destroy efficiency, and it is natural for people, as we say, to live up to their income, spend all, and depend on life insurance, old age pensions, and fraternal homes for years when toil shall end. Here is the field for the practical expression of true brotherhood, that each works and never shirks his labor, that each earns and spends, and that none who have consistently labored shall suffer want and deprivation. Why should every citizen worry over the control of national wealth any more than he should worry over the authority of men elected to national office? No man can eat gold dollars, nor for that matter dollars of silver or paper currency, and when a man has good health, strength, employment, food, shelter, clothing, and a glorious commonwealth nation and heritage as an American, let him save if he will, let him lead if he will, but let him never complain, nor worry, nor listen to wild denunciations of all that is honest, true, and of good report in this land of ours,

that contentment, efficiency, and confidence remain still our portion.

Because legislatures pass laws, they are not necessarily good laws, constitutional laws, nor wise laws. Economic freedom is just good old simple common sense that a contract is a contract, and right-minded men are rightly bound by their obligations, except as society may charitably release them, and many believe even this charity ill-advised in its present form. The industrial world is fascinated by its creations, and conscious of its duty to develop every quality of initiative and genius rewarding industry, and discouraging disobedience, sloth, and irrectitude. A minimum wage is not an impossible national conception of the just reward for the individual industry of a matured man, making his honest living, and requiring the representative quota of the good things of life for himself and family. Add to this Government employment for all necessarily unemployed and government supervision over the distribution of employment, and can we not cease to depend upon immigration for unskilled labor, for never can we rely upon imported labor to perform manual service for a free people. If we are reaching points of divergence, at least consider every issue carefully, weigh every thought, for these are days of new hopes that we may establish permanently here in America a free Democracy imbued with ideals of unity and service, so entrenched in the welfare of humanity, that its bonds can never be severed by disorder and discontent.

The ideal society must provide a continuous elimination of all oppression, insecurity, inequality, and

misfortune. No man shall be wronged, none shall be crushed, and it is better for society to forgive and reform than to disgrace and destroy. Education may alleviate discontent, for this evil arises from a gross inherent ignorance, in the form where it causes the malcontent to cease work and attack society, although the same idea in another sense, is the seat of endeavor to improve one's condition and by increased toil and thrift to rise to privilege and control. Distinction must come from long service, and special reward is the natural recompense of special service, and where both are recognized, the problems of the relationships of men to men should be under a minimum strain. A big business is the ruination of a small man, for the problems of local customs, and wide markets are no child's play, and many a leader of industry oftentimes wishes he could safely depend upon a weekly pay envelope. These are the men who are forced to relinquish to others their posts of obligation, to whom society should be charitable, for hard is the path which leads to financial failure, and many there be that find it. Let us not be too quick to judge the fallen, for they suffer all things and endure all things.

Not only our vast miraculous wealth, but the vastness of our charities and expenditures far exceeds the highest estimate of our nearest competitor. Universities, libraries, hospitals, public schools, paved streets, parks, and magnificent public and private buildings have been extravagantly built in this as in no other nation. There is no national wealth hoarded or invested but what the citizen at large bene-

fits by, and no child is secluded from or denied every advantage of free education. We must now further eliminate the line of demarkation between necessities and luxuries, between degrees of skilled labor and unskilled labor, and the enjoyment of privilege of and by both leaders and toilers, for the closer we reach a level of popular intelligence and impulse, the safer will be our Democracy. The employment of men by law should eliminate the problems of employment of women and children, or at least of married women with children, and children below the age of maturity, for we cannot as a Democracy ever hope to forbid to free womanhood, permanently, her entrance to any field of either mental or physical activity on full and complete terms of equality, except as the necessity of the preservation of our social and family life may appear to require, for both the need and the benefits of protective measures are questioned generally to-day.

The power of wealth will henceforth decrease as its use and benefit increase, but as the trustees of wealth, temptations should be removed equally from the wealthy and the industrious, so that the life of the nation may never be squandered, but all be made available for continual service. Destruction is always a loss, never a gain, no matter where, when, or how it occurs, and he who saves a cargo from destruction is equal to him who produces equal value. The potential power of a nation is its sum total of wealth, and all our forces of law, order, justice, truth, and fair play are united in one grand effort to maintain in society such organization as assures continuous

security to this potential power. Violence is always a destructive force. It unites all opponents, and is the weapon of the unintellectual, who place no value upon conscientious supporters of justice and all that is honest, right, fair, and true; and if we can only teach the people knowledge and wisdom, we need never fear violence in a democracy, where the word of the law is the word of the people, in a new self-assertive authority, the philosophy of America.

May 10, '17.

SUCCESS IN THE MAKING

NOTICING the gnarled trunk of a crooked tree, a scientist exclaimed: "Three generations ago a horse trod upon a little seedling oak." Adversity often moulds out great men because it makes them think: they formulate plans to stem the tide of woe, and thus are driven to learn self-confidence, poise, and fearlessness. A story is told that when John Jacob Astor heard that his account against a furrier was lost because the man had failed, he went down to the closed store and opened the business, seating himself in the show window and watching the latest styles of the passers-by. He ordered the clerks to copy all patterns the ladies evidently preferred, and not only made his account good, but the store soon won a reputation for pleasing the public. As a Nation the American people are now taking some serious thought upon present-day problems, discarding trashy light novels and demanding literature of strength, character, and deeper thought. Likewise in the trades and professions we find a demand for standardization and expert knowledge, proving the trend toward specialization and serious reflection upon life's problems.

Meanwhile a broad sympathy and world-wide charity is extending its beautiful harmony to every people. In the practice of law the day of the schem-

ing, tricky, money-making professionalism is tempered by consideration for the great throbbing, tempted, impulsive heart of humanity, to guide men to higher planes of thought, and we measure the life of every man by how he thinks, whether his thought is suppressive or expressive, optimistic or pessimistic, healthy, liberal and altruistic or degenerated, prejudiced, and narrow. The clergy are throwing aside dusty creeds and theological dogmas, and admitting that convictions are subject to processes of evolution and men develop by self-education and experience. Industry is a much more important lesson than ingenuity. An industrious man will succeed and may develop ingenuity, but a slothful man is always a failure, and if he develops ingenuity it will make him only the more a menace to society. Sir Walter Scott trained his industry to so high a tension as to produce a volume a month and every successful, self-made man reaches his success by persistent practical application. The only marketable quality of a man is his energy, the value of which depends upon the quality and quantity, as expressed in his professional knowledge, punctuality, endurance, skill, and trustworthy service, so we must make the object of all education the creation and preservation of energy in the race. There is no room for self-deception in spelling success for the measure thereof is the measure of the ability of accomplishment.

Many read books, but few think over them, analyze them, and portray the mind of the author, for every book is a picture, and how few of us search out the inner thought. Abraham Lincoln took the posi-

tion of postmaster in order to obtain the opportunity to study men and literature, for his education came from analyzing books and people. The foundations of a structure require greater planning and skill than the superstructure, and all this is invisible and never observed or admired by the transient traveller. A great statesman must first endure starvation, poverty, disgrace, terror, tribulation, and error, and overcome all these to have a heart big enough and broad enough to feel for others. So a great general must experience defeat, privation, sufferings, disaster, rivalry, hatred, pain, and toil in the ranks, to know his men, what they can and will endure, and how they think and serve. Compare the hemlock upon the exposed mountain side, beaten by the storms, with huge sturdy trunk and low expanding branches, to the tree slender and weak in the depths of a dense forest; one stands alone, the other is one of a crowd. Even prisons have developed and given to the world the noble thoughts of aroused manhood, as Luther translated the Bible at Wartburg; and both "Pilgrim's Progress" and "Robinson Crusoe" were written to us from the tombs. The French soldiers at Bayonne used up all their ammunition and must have surrendered, had not the tenacious fighters tied their swords to the rifles, renewed the fight and invented the bayonet, the most invincible type of hand-to-hand attack known. Yet there is such a thing as the accumulation or reincarnation of energy, and the great statesmen revive their stamina, their mental poise, and shattered nerves by games of golf. Men must study their own beings just as any machine is studied,

to build up, use, and concentrate powers of thought and action. Golf is therefore a proper part of the curriculum of a well-balanced judge. One of the greatest musical artists was advised to rest a year without any public appearance, but with consistent practise, and all his expenses would be paid. He retired for one year and came back with infinitely increased power to move the hearts of men. So that the element of chance in a life is almost a negligible quantity and the successful career is the life well planned.

Men realize too late that it is possible to scatter and divert all their mental and physical resources into various dissipations, and here the wealthy student has the greatest handicap, for idle spectators, and flatterers, friends, and relatives, constantly waste his time and strength in gossip and trifles. The great success of a man is usually combined with the sympathetic co-operation of an indulgent wife, who perceives the relation of the conservation of energy and time together with the application of hard, well-directed labor, to results. Just as "Ma Sunday" stands a powerful wall of protection to her mate, and we can study Lincoln, Wesley, and George Washington through their wives and their mothers. Music should be either a vocation or a recreation; politics either a life work or a duty; and gossip, like procrastination, never tolerated. Lafayette was a general of the French armies at twenty, while Gladstone was England's Grand Old Man at the age of eighty-four, so that man's activity belongs exclusively neither to youth, to age, to sex, nor to station in life. But there

is a characteristic of poise and stamina in every man, which acts as the ballast to steady the ship, or as the gyroscope to maintain the uprightness. This great guardian power of self-assurance, attracting friends and terrifying enemies, protects him from controversy and detraction, so that every mental force is concentrated upon the accomplishment of the next step of advancement toward the completion of the ultimate design. The man who succeeds is the man who is willing to die at his post rather than desert duty, and somehow men recognize his determination, seeming barriers are easily torn down, and through blackest clouds the light of sunshine pours.

But what makes a man a hero is the consciousness of being right, and nothing can defeat this conviction. Conscience makes cowards of all who are wilfully wrongdoing, but that same conscience makes men of valor of the righteous. How important, then, to choose for a lifework primarily an agreeable task which will make to increase the sum total of good in the world. It is better to be a doorkeeper in a righteous cause than a chieftain of evil forces. We are surprised when we meet emperors, presidents, senators, and financial leaders to find all of them just ordinary men, but with one general trait, they plan ahead and prepare in advance for every contingency with humility and wisdom, and firm confidence in their own ability to use their knowledge and experience effectively to solve every problem. Even in dire distress there is the same dogged confidence as a rudder to the ship upon the ocean holds the leader to his course. "Now I must sell out this show busi-

ness," said the marshall to P. T. Barnum. "Then I shall be free by skill and industry to introduce certain improvements I have planned out and erect even a grander success upon the ruins of the sale." And he did. His skill, industry, and determination to succeed won success time and time again, for to the man with strong and energetic body and mind there is no meaning to such a word as failure, for opportunities are always at hand for strong hands to labor and be spent in useful activities.

Every man should purpose to have a calling yet be larger than his calling. Employers are looking for men who are able and willing to work hard, conscientiously, and obediently, for a steady, consistent worker always bests the impulsive, spasmodic, nervous individual at both manual and intellectual labor, in the long run. Common sense declares that nature rewards compliance with her laws of right living, bestowing strength, happiness, health, and endurance upon the man who studies his physical and mental well being, as the study of the physical needs of the body is far more important than any other lesson in common education. Crime, disease, misery, despair, inefficiency, and incompetency descend upon every person, who either through ignorance, rashness, or carelessness violates rules of health; assistance, advice, and instruction should be meted out to all unfortunates who will apply or whose infirmities are known. The object of an employee must be to make himself indispensable to the business, and his individual effort will then command merited attention, as results are the best recommendation.

Some men never can make headway because of the lack of ability to control other men. Others never succeed because of their inability to repress the desire to irritate their fellow employees whenever opportunity arises. These traits are the results of home training, and in nearly every instance loose tongues and a lack of authority can be traced directly to the parents. Spirit is something that should never be broken down, as in training animals a good trainer by patience must overcome every difficulty, and in cases where repeated correction will not remedy a fault the training along that particular line may better be discontinued, unless there appear a distinct determination to overcome the difficulty, when patience and perseverance may win the day. There is such a thing as a choice of vocation, and whenever a child shows a special attraction toward literature, music, mechanics, physical training, or mathematics, his taste should be encouraged, and attention given to specialization in education. George Washington at nineteen years of age was appointed adjutant general, while Robert Browning wrote at the age of twelve, and Nelson at twenty was a lieutenant in the English fleet. We destroy the genius of our people by a system of general education which recognizes no latent talent, but compels all scholars to attain the same general standards regardless of taste, desire, or ability. Think on these things, for we ask men to be prepared to discharge special duties in life, and why may we not train from early infancy, those with special talent, to follow their mind's lead.

Ambition is a driving power which pitilessly en-

slaves soul and body until it appears as if some men have sacrificed health, honor, and even life itself upon the altar of fame; yet apparently hard work never destroys, but rather conquers and overcomes every difficulty. Old Doctor Johnson, after he lost the use of one eye, spent years of labor under most trying difficulties to produce the first dictionary of the English language; for twenty years Dante, exiled for life, worked upon his living poems, while Fannie J. Crosby, totally blind, wrote her sweetest hymns. Where there is a determination to succeed there is no such word as failure and impassable barriers are easily broken down. Any fool can spend money, but it takes a very smart man to earn it, and a wizard to save it. Every business is a field for thought and study. Courtesy accomplishes wonderful results: promptness and attention to details win popular approval; and original methods of advertising always bring trade and earn a reputation. To win is easy, if every task is well performed. To fail is easy, if opportunities of expansion are neglected. Show faith in your integrity, confidence in your fellowmen, and work with wits and genius; love to work, and a business once started soon runs itself, for nothing succeeds like success. Nothing cheers men's hearts like the contagious laughter of good fellowship, which adds a glory to life, as sunshine after rain. The old story of ten attempts of the spider to lay the foundation strand for its web, before success was achieved, is still an example followed by thousands of successful men: "If at first you don't succeed, try, try again."

The man who aims at professional talent, where an

understanding of men is essential, and likewise some ready information for extemporaneous use, needs first of all to saturate his mind with the best books, especially choosing the author who most appeals to himself. Learn his passion, his belief, his art, his romance, and character, and memorize page upon page. Mark Twain and William Shakespeare will provide both humor and serious thought, enough to make any student famous, who can rightly stage their idealism. When you can copy great men, and lead their lives, the door to art is open, yet how many leave books of inestimable value in the free public library unsought and unread? The delicate flowers of passion can be copied, keen insight into the hearts of men can be imitated, and no author can write within a book a lie, for his very nature compels him in the book to write to men his life, his all. From their works the student can acquire precision of action, acuteness of thought, and skilful, comprehensive, intellectual power, provided he patiently disciplines his mind to work these valuable prerogatives into his own personality, for we live to study men in books, to learn men and the thoughts of men, that words and phrases be not tinkling cymbals, but impregnated with the grand truths of righteousness and power.

Success begins when one's personality is projected into the lives and business affairs of other men. As soon as a man becomes initiated into an acquaintance with the idea of independent action toward a definite end, no undertaking is too difficult, and every powerful force at work among men can be measured, estimated, and the cause and effect described and

reckoned with. Armed with knowledge and discriminating judgment, it is just as easy to seek out and accomplish great things as the lesser tasks of life, with patience, humility, and perseverance, although it is true that many must plod the paths of lesser service while a few find the narrow way toward the altitudes of thought. The law of business is to find out what the people need and provide for them that very necessity or luxury. There is only a certain balance of profit to be divided and where some receive more, others must be satisfied with less. Employments are limited in specified industries and where some are employed others must seek out other fields of labor. The first necessary step toward knowledge is the elimination of the suspicion of some depressing human power, for the depressing power, though human in influence, is only the natural force antagonistic to the forces of elevation. Every art of man is resplendent with beauty and service; but the antithesis of beauty is not service, but vulgar display, the immoral power of evil; so the antithesis of service is not beauty, but slothful ignorance and wasteful idleness. All manner of education from books, from lectures, from experience and from travel increases the skill, endurance, and unselfishness of the subject. Whenever tendencies toward luxurious living are dispelled to make room for productive efficiency, the subjects gain in houses, lands, and material wealth, and material wealth is not to be despised. With all thy getting, get wisdom, get understanding. Wisdom is a broad vision of the affairs of mankind which comes neither from books

nor from study, but only by judicially pondering over the experiences of men with men in the affairs of men.

In our national life what we must strive for as the summum bonum of the ideal of the successful statesman and citizen is the confidence of our fellowmen, the security of life and property of the people, and the omnipresent good-will of all to all in every industrial, commercial, and political enterprise. When a mere citizen rises to this broader view he is at least in embryo a statesman, on the first step toward that broad outlook over national affairs which connects common men with arbitrary and self-regulated power. Evil designs may become the infatuation for derailed minds and whole nations and peoples, because of prejudice and for lack of universality of charity, may follow such degraded forces so that even governments may run amuck and become irresponsible agencies of destruction. The reward of irresponsibility is always servitude, for either destruction or control must ultimately follow. Make it easy for men to live right, to educate their children to thrift and right living, to live peaceably in pleasant homes, to enjoy labor, recreation, society, and all the good things of life in moderation, and we may meld the antithesis of the good and beautiful into community service. Wealth is always a corrupting power when it is an enslaving power. Our present systems of control over men are costly in labor and wasted hours; our methods of public education are costly in lack of specialization of training, in the lack of equipment for mental and physical gymnastics

and the lack of instruction in homely and useful pursuits. We cannot afford to inherit opinions and theories, for what are we here for, unless to work out our own salvation, to think for ourselves, to experiment, to discover the truth, and create new standards of right living, which will give to posterity better mental and physical power.

Final success lies in a sense of honor and not in social elevation nor accumulated wealth, so that real satisfaction of life is found in the contented households where the men are committed to organized, highly specialized activities. It is a service to mankind for an individual to find a niche, to occupy it, and there labor conscientiously among his fellow toilers for fair commensurate reward. The mental faculties are not rent asunder by conflicting opinions as to what is honest or dishonest gain, and what is taxed or untaxed income, but peace reigns supreme where the daily allowance meets the daily needs. Here we find a distinct self-denying, self-sacrificing surrender of personal control of individual activity, making often a closer contact in the vital relations of men, and we may well pause and ask whether there is not one form of true personal success in such excluded exclusive lives, the molecules which make up our social foundations. Such lives are free from the problems of how to invade the upper stratas, where men fight death duels for leadership and material gain. Yet if ever the great seething, pulsating hordes of workers should even for an hour cease their toil the land would be enveloped in darkness and industry and commerce would fail. Here is the in-

consistency of success, for below the struggling, clashing, hating, blighted characters of powerful leaders we find over earth a blanket of homely men, abounding in strength and useful power, joyful, courageous, unselfish, and efficient toilers, who know neither prosperity nor adversity, and whose sole ambition is the enrichment of their common life.

Every one has a right to his own opinion, but some men acquire the ability to deal with bodies of men and with the fulfilment of human needs. What we cannot understand has no value for use in our calling of life, but there is a very high demand for personal efficiency, power, intelligence, and knowledge made upon those who enter professional life, for their reputations must always depend upon the confidence of their fellowmen in their integrity. These men control the controls over men, and however well they manipulate controlling forces over others the destructive elements against which they contend are always the self-controlling forces over themselves and their peers. There are moral stimuli, humane and legal restrictions, spiritual and physical truths, which pervade their environment and give steadfastness of purpose to their combined activities, but self-control is always a weakness, for there is no power above to sufficiently suppress undue expansion when mental compulsion is driven to the breaking point. The editor must not merely copy news but he has the responsibility of national thought constantly before him to adjust facts both to his own knowledge and to popular opinion. He has a well-defined policy which he must adjust to all the several antagonistic,

diametrically opposed policies of others, and to bring correct results he must use pages of facts, combined with proper editorials, to formulate an apparent agreement with many with whom he violently disagrees. He may attempt to mould public thought or opinion but he must never disagree therewith for the word of a nation is a law unto the land. Yet what a terrible responsibility rests with those who lead a democracy; dealing with controls which must be guided to right control and moulding controlling powers of public decision which will be finally expressed by a sovereign people.

The law is the measure of past forces of opinion and lawyers and statesmen speculate in the value of vital decisions and common rules of conduct called customs. The security of life and property depends upon public confidence in future justice, and men stand before men to learn social order. The greatest statesman is most conservative in essentials and most radical in justice and mercy. All these are incongruities, yet the mind of a lawyer untempered with mercy wears the crown of thorns of a tyrant. The lawyer, schooled in dealing with evil men, is always more merciful and just than the laymen, who suffers at their hands, so that restrictions and delays are not needed to determine justice but to insure mercy. The broken reed if not crushed may be mended, and the laws of business are more hasty and cruel than the rule of law. Those who have been to the law for expected redress for fancied wrongs deny this; yet if they give thought to the moral value of decisions which work for co-operation, peace of

mind, and the political and social order of the nation, under a rule of ameliorated reason, there will be a vast increase of sympathy for lawyers and judges who must defend honesty and thrift at all times against the calamities of the perversion of justice.

These higher callings of necessity stumble when the fascination of success detracts the leaders' attention from the needs of humanity. When Napoleon stooped to worship his personal achievements he lost his ability to serve men. So great popular leaders pass to oblivion, seeking to entrench themselves in popular favor, and the public fickleness is a by-word in leadership. Yet intellectual forces, trained in statesmanship, must rule and there is truly a science of administration. We still yearn for the time when the social order of rulers shall be as the social order of the industrial world: free from death-dealing desecration of character and scandalous attacks against the integrity and purposes of those who have sought authority. Enthusiasm need not be quenched nor the mental faculties dimmed, in order that mind may rule over matter, that there may be no personal identification with decisive activity but on the contrary an absolutely fair and impartial distribution of all social obligations. The minority must merge in the majority in order to preserve a unanimity of opinion without dissension and disagreement. Only thus can Democracy act with the precision and unified force of autocracy, to give to their leaders confidence in the security of their favor with their constituents.

The great lesson for leading men to learn is to dedicate themselves to social order. The lowly worker, by his surrender to his employer, dedicates himself to his task and the social order is richer for every faithful toiler in factory, or professional service. Every field for labor is a field of trusteeship, and the accounting is due, whether the duties are great or small. The skilful doctor gives life itself oftentimes to men, the lawyer makes and preserves business, the merchant contributes to society a proper distribution of commodities and the teacher trains his pupils to serve well and faithfully. It is a social duty for every man to strictly mind his own business and never to make himself a judge of that whereof he has no knowledge, either of the difficulties arising from conditions of service or of relationships with others, that he may not be a hindrance or stumbling-block to his fellowmen. Too many rulers spoil Democracy and every man must account for his trusteeship to those above, and not to those about him, who are concerned equally with duties and their own reward, for a moral consciousness of a successful life can never be denied the faithful servant nor the just master. We cannot have too many workers, we must not have too many leaders, and too much government is infinitely worse than liberality just as unbridled open criticism will destroy the nerve of the best general upon whom its operative power can be successfully focussed. The highest culture is a culture of generosity and the quality is shown in a fair willingness to reverence every opinion of another, and every institution in which confidence

is reposed, until error be vanquished and disappear because of its own inherent weakness.

Identify yourself with all that is just and right and in a certain sense the opinion of the majority is always right. The most important step in a successful career is to establish a reputation, and no man can begin too soon or too early in life, for this is a task of years, not of days. The flower may blossom forth in an hour, but the bud has been growing and expanding for many months, and any young man who looks forward to influence in his community must scientifically cultivate sympathy with all branches of the community stem, so that whenever and wherever he may be called upon, he may be able to meet the demands of the social obligation, and intelligently, courageously, and with unswerving purpose uphold his own personal righteous ideals. The first essential is a knowledge of the thoughts of his subjects so that he can successfully strive to influence them without apparently interfering with their ideals. The minute a speaker antagonizes an audience his cause is lost; the minute he can gain the attention of an antagonistic audience, his personal cause, his control over men, his popularity as a leader of men, is achieved. When a man of broad sympathy holds an audience silent and spell-bound, after having delivered his thrust, then is the time to draw a spectacular conclusion, for he need never fear his ability to re-assemble that audience, whose respect and admiration he has gained. Do you know that there is, in the final analysis, only one righteous solution to every problem, judging all the

circumstances of the case; and truly circumstances alter cases. And the great democratic, pulsating, national opinion which pervades the hearts of a people, under their peculiar conditions of facts and thought, is right and truth. Can you alter the circumstances of fact or alter conditions of thought? These are problems for a successful leader, not to fall like a sledge hammer upon the ideals of men and crush them by despotic tyranny, but win them one by one, audience by audience, thought by thought, lead them on, and it will be your victory. But if you attempt to drive them, the victory is theirs.

No man can reach the full measure of success who wilfully neglects every means of social intercourse with men of his own calling. Show me a man who never attends a dinner, who despises the club, the board of trade, and the good fellowship of kindred minds, and you see the miserly, niggardly, non-progressive laggard on the shady side of his profession, trade, or calling. Study the trials and tribulations of other men, and wear magnifying glasses for pleasure. Remember every kindness from a friend and every success achieved and new kindnesses and successes will be your portion; but dote upon thoughts of injustice and sufferings endured and new wrongs and injuries will somehow encompass the length and breadth of life. Every misfortune can become a blessing if instead of harboring the depressing subject we tell it to some jovial friend and as you win his advice and sympathy the storm shows the rainbow, a blessing in disguise, to water the thirsty flowers of good cheer with the dew of heaven. The mingling

of men with men, rubbing elbows and exchanging ideas, removes friction and misunderstanding, for it is always worry and depression that undermines character, just as friction will dull in an instant the sharpest blade of choicest steel. Joy and pleasure make the heart beat faster and whose heart beats quickest lives the longest. Get the broadening instinct, throw away stale conceptions and renew a right spirit within the breast, by association with the best society to which you can gain admittance. Mingle with your peers and be a leader, a vigorous shining light and in brightening the lives of others every cloud in your own life will be quickly dispelled. Emulate the methods and habits of successful men wherever you discover them for the same success they bear is yours for the striving. Ask and you will receive, seek and you will find, is no idle promise for success always rewards the honest request, the earnest seeking, and the persevering effort.

The young man passes from college mentally, morally, and socially an infant, as far as his advent into the world of money and affairs is concerned, and his first shock comes when he realizes the full sway of the rule of the survival of the fittest in business life. Money must be gained and invested, and idealisms and altruistic motives never worry a banking institution in business life, but if considered at all belong to an entirely different department. Honesty in business does not include charity, and it takes a brave man to even ask mercy for another. But how can a young man reach the maturity of business intercourse? It must come from the interpretations

of the dreams, inner thoughts, and aspirations of local and national leaders and there is no other road to the second step of the ladder of higher recognition. Every man admires every person who agrees with himself, either in details or conclusions, and if you can not agree with the conclusion, at least as far as possible show apparent coincidence of ideas in detail, and sympathy for the necessary accepted usages and customs of business men. Learn never to condemn established precedents, but rather study every cause and effect and learn the lesson of its purpose. Understand that a seething democratic people is more comparable to a mighty torrent rushing over a broad shallow river bed, where in many places high and strong retaining walls have been built to hold the stream to its course, and think well before you attempt to alter the course of such a stream. There is a strange, solemn, powerful roar to that foaming torrent and woe to the man whose craft leaps from the hidden channels. The maturity of the business man comes with the knowledge of the innermost impulses of men and few there be who dare brave the combat. The great heart of a nation is a crude yielding mass, but impenetrable, except by hands cunningly skilled by experience, and every enemy must be tempted to expose his hidden forces, when much that is secret will be revealed, and again we discover that the guiding minds of industry are right, and theories have bowed to practical necessity.

Thus the evolution of knowledge brings the man amazed and dumfounded to admit a cause to every effect and an effect from every cause. First of all be

true to yourself and to others, acquire a sincere purpose to be right, in accordance with the demands and requirements of other men, discarding theories and purposes which are at variance with experience, and you reach the vantage ground of useful service. Touch men, fondle their hearts, isolate them and defeat them, use the point of contact to quicken control and influence, and be a man. Your character is firstly what it is, and it must be sincere and true, and secondly what people know you to be, and they must know you to be honest, square, and incorruptible. Never play false, even to the least of your brethren, and never act the trifler, but be a refreshing fountain of knowledge, good cheer, and sympathy for all. Increase your capacity for power, and speak always with authority and complete self assurance. Remember you are what you make yourself, and when nerve, composure and power fail, retire and rest until the soul revives. It is a supreme faith in one's self which draws the confidence of other men, and when you gain the power of confidence, use it with caution, and make yourself the impersonation of the welfare of others. What is your part in the affairs of men? To retain and deserve this intelligent confidence of your fellowmen in you, moulding your own theories to their ideals, in order to gain a better understanding of the heart throbs of the community, the state, the nation, wherein you hold citizenship. The narrow minded man of small calibre can not count the pulse beats of a world longing for light, and dashes his influence to pieces upon the rocky shores of conflict. But the great man appreciates

and reads wisdom and knowledge from the lives of all men, and admits that all may enjoy God-given freedom of thought and conviction, each as an individual, and that as vanish the restrictions upon the personal equation, there arises the permanent forces of political independence, which make the rights of all toiling men equally to enjoy life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness a complete and universal reality. Success is not measured by station, not measured by gold, not measured even in terms of the praise and approval of men, but in the still small voice of conscience from within, which tells us we have played well our part, and the cause of humanity has been supported by our weak efforts, for the advancement of the race, toward the temple of true and right living.

OPERATIVE POWER

POLITICAL Liberty is the essence of that form of government by popular representation which we call a Republic, while Monarchy is based upon the repression of self government and self development by and among the people. But equally in a republic as well as in a monarchy, operative power is a necessary element of government, whether or not such power be derived from and given with the consent of the governed or not. Restraint of popular opinion and constructive industrial growth is a cause of revolution where expansion of fields of occupation are necessary for crowded populations, but where no such influences are acting upon national objectives, restraint of radical changes is a protection against political upheavals.

Social relationships are adapted to the peculiar existing circumstances of the citizenship at large, and cannot be readily or quickly changed, or rather in personal application, can not be changed at all, except by training and educating a new generation to live under and adapt itself to other ideals and habits, and even under the most intensive education only a partial change is noticeable. Rulers must respect the traditions, habits, and social standing of their subjects, for reformers seldom reform, and new theories seldom have any consistent or permanent

following. Judges, therefore, temper every decision with compromise and patient consideration of the environment and habits of every criminal, for what is just retribution upon one malfasant may be injustice to another. Law making is conservative, so as to constantly preserve a consistency between the past and the present, and although idealists and reformers fret and fume, precedents are followed, and men seek the same safe and sane paths of reason their forefathers trod and refuse to leave the beaten and known paths of slow evolutionary progress.

It is for this reason that we find the operative powers of successful government are always repressive in a republic as well as in a monarchy, the difference being that in a republic they are repressive but progressive, while in a monarchy they are either repressive only, or else repressive of popular power, to organize the monopolistic authority of some military ruling dynasty. Modern politicians cannot see why every reform can not be ushered into practical operation by statutory law, but to the judge dealing with men under laws, the revolutionary results of rapid radical evolutions are very apparent, and the reform is retarded, until vested capital and human habits gradually accustom and adapt their requirements to the proposed altered conditions and circumstances. Hasty radical legislation almost invariably works intense hardship upon many, which hardships must be ameliorated, and no matter how desirable the ultimate results of the reformation may be, time alone can heal the wounds and soften the bitter

feelings of men driven by force to deprivation of their social and physical needs. Revolutions always proceed from the people, and gradual growth and education of the entire population to new ideals is the true method of reform, so that all social reformers should be teachers of men, until the bulk of the people voluntarily adopt the reform.

The operative power of government, even in a republic, must be entirely separate from the people, so as to be able to make and enforce laws, which shall be the supreme law of the land, that their restraint be not laid more heavily upon some sections of the realm, and other sections be slighted. Therefore an Executive head is a primary requirement, with recognized authority to rule and exact obedience, which is just as essential to good government under republican institutions as under a monarchy, the difference being that in one case the people voluntarily submit, and in the other submission is enforced by compulsion. As this head of the function of operative power in a republic needs assistants in full sympathy with his aims and plans, he is allowed to choose a cabinet, to lead the various departments of State, each cabinet officer acting as his personal representative in his department. Whether in a republic or in a monarchy these ministers must be a unit both in thought and in policy under the command of the President or monarch, acting really as private secretaries or lieutenants to aid in the administrative success. Therefore as the administrative cannot be called upon to resign, if a minister or cabinet member becomes out of sympathy with

administrative ideals, the duty is imposed upon him to resign and never to obstruct and hinder the administration. The cabinet officers are not controlling powers, but advisory assistants to a central authority, and there must be perfect intimacy and understanding between all units of the operative power of government, for whatever its form, government is applied power upon the governed, and the respect and obedience of the governed must be maintained, so that the central controlling power shall never lose prestige nor lack authority and respect. Representative or Republican Government is in the final analysis a government by majority rule, and the power to enforce authority must ever be the essential operative power. Also we must consider the duty of the minority to respect and be obedient and subservient to the will of the majority. Often in a republic we find men of the highest standing and reputation for patriotism chaffing in impotent impatience, because demanded reforms are not immediately imposed upon the people, or because laws destructive of vested rights in property and choses in action are not strictly and harshly enforced. Well intentioned men fail to see the injustice of suddenly altering our social propaganda, and they, representing the minority, rage and scold at what they deem evasion of moral law, failing to realize the necessity of the slow evolution of the change of popular thought and habit. Other minority representatives, politicians, and promoters rant and criticize the administrations because their pet schemes are pigeon-holed by committees without recognition. All of these

forms of insubordination on the part of minority bodies are joint evils, and their suppression is essential to the successful continuance of operative power. No revolutionary changes in an established democracy are advisable, for nothing is lost by a gradual growth of our free institutions, and we can not afford the risk of making blunders by too hasty legislation in untried fields. We can easily change laws, but we cannot change national characteristics, traditions, or habits, to which all our present statutory law and constitution conforms, and which the operative power of government must recognize and respect. In a republic not only are the people the state, but in as much as their representatives in the government stand in their stead, they are also the operative power of the state, which exists in a democratic commonwealth only for the purpose of advancing the welfare of all. The minority therefore should always look upon the operative power as a friendly ally, doing all in its power for their benefit, and to the will of the majority pledge their allegiance, that no insubordination or division of authority shall ever be recognized or arise.

And finally this operative power of government must always maintain and insist upon good-will toward all business industry and vested interests. The highest duty of every citizen is to discountenance and repress anarchy and socialistic revolution. By disobedience to authority we dissipate the benefits of the service of the best and brightest minds of the community, elected and chosen to rule, and we can not afford to destroy and negate the fruits of

genius, no more than we can afford to criminally destroy property and vested interests. It is the prerogative of law to protect property rights, and the function of operative power in government is to enforce law. How important it is then in a democracy, that we respect and obey our leaders, and admit that every man has a right to decide every question according to the dictation of his own conscience. We cannot all always think alike, although I have contended that under like circumstances and environments, we would all reach the same conclusions. There is a difference between theory and practice, between things as they are and things as they ought to be, but when once the operative power of government is established by the people, from the people, for public welfare, uphold the hands of power, strengthen the arm of authority, give approval to well doing, and praise for just decisions, to make the life of the ruler joyful and satisfying, instead of a constant round of smoothing frictions and hearing complaints. Study every social need with the aim of correction or alleviation and not criticism and fault findings. Each for all, and all for the advancement of the welfare of each individual is true democracy, and we have never yet had rulers, whose aim was not to deal fairly and justly with all citizens, as the best welfare of every state and the nation at large demanded. As with us government is by chosen representative bodies, we may well restrain all our comments upon the action of the operative power in the repression of radicalism and the protection of property and vested interests, be charitable toward

all, and as each fulfills his duty to the state in the course of the evolutions of society, all these things which are essential to, and best for our national life, will be added to us as a people, blessed with freedom of thought, action, and personal conviction.

THE RULE OF REASON

LAWYERS and statesmen are trained primarily to subordinate popular activities to national welfare. Although we must presume every law to be constructive of all good and destructive of all evil, it is an admitted fact that the frailty of human wisdom, the common necessity of hasty legislation and the lack of laws universally applicable and applied, place upon our statute books rules of conduct, the results of which in their application are entirely divergent from the intention of the promoters. Just as the rough diamond cannot be cut in an instant, but for the best brilliancy, corner by corner, each little face is carefully ground, even so the most powerful court errs in recognizing laws detrimental to the broadest scope of public welfare, for the conception of the rule of reason is that we codify laws with only one objective in view, and that is to so regulate the conduct of men, business, and affairs as to create the greatest impetus to moral, physical, social, and industrial advancement, to secure our democratic institutions, our government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

The greatest men of every nation are the judges and law-givers, the lawyers and statesmen who unselfishly dedicate their lives and their fortunes to harmonizing reason and justice with law and custom,

successfully protecting life and property; as a matter of history such men, admired, quoted, and honored by succeeding generations and nations, were in their day and generation defeated and driven to despair and desperation by forces of greed and avarice, whose avenues of revenue were by them assailed, resultant that great men are seldom measured by wealth and honorary degrees, but by sufferings experienced, hardships endured, and some final temporary victory. The benefits of freedom of press, speech, and right to contract and be bound by contract are jeopardized by every influence tending to undermine confidence, and lawyers and statesmen are intermediaries to guide judges and dignitaries to just conclusions and decisions. Through the glasses of experience we discover that we may have too much law and too little reasoning justice, too many makers of law and not enough statesmen.

Legal honesty is broad humanitarianism, not that all dealings shall conform to precedent, decisions, and statutory law within the pale of technicality, but that principles of equity and justice shall always over-shadow and defeat oppression and wrong, to guide toward right and away from the rule of physical power. The history of law is resplendent with the names of statesmen who have valiantly striven for righteousness and high ideals in the course of the evolution of social progress, assisting unintentional transgressors, for, after all, we are all men and women, dealing with men and women, living as men and women within the limitations of human experience. As a final thought, honesty requires that lawyers

never build reputations upon evading court rules and assisting the dishonest and criminal to escape just deserts; moreover, misrepresentation of facts to secure acquittal should never be made to a jury any more than to a judge, as in each case rules of contempt of court should equally apply. Where there is no doubt of guilt, in the presence of the accused, have the representing lawyer plead for pardon and clemency before the bar of justice, seeking to reduce the transgressor to a position of obligation to the court, rather than to counsel, by compelling him to appeal for and receive mercy and do recompense for wrong. Ideas of vengeance and punishment are not included in true justice, and we need never hesitate to add a little friendship, a little assistance to every person in actual distress to make every citizen a true friend of law and order.

THE LAWYER STATESMAN

THE greatest leaders of this and every other civilized nation have been lawyers, who have dedicated their lives and fortunes to improving the condition of humanity. Yet the very name of lawyer breathes popular distrust and apprehension of ingenious arguments to destroy truth and cover over falsehood and crime or to force legislation favoring railroads and shipping interests. Thereby the lawyer statesman comes into popular infamy and disrepute as being a consistent supporter of every special interest against all corrective and radical legislation. Now suddenly the nation realizes that our statesmen lawyers were right in favoring these special interests, and this radical legislation, with which we have shackled every industry and trade, is actually unjust and destructive of American industrial efficiency! We realize that where men have spent lifetimes in building up great systematic organs of corporations to regulate supply and demand, and reduce productive cost of commerce and manufacturing, we have ruthlessly and ignorantly classed all these great modern advances as monopolies, and proceeded to destroy every fountain of power and co-operation.

These popular reforms simply entrench local aggrandizement and petty improvement, and impose

the retention of impractical rules, duties, and regulations. Therefore an entirely new economic fabric must be woven to determine our national and international duties upon permanent lines, wherefrom we must never deviate, that a united America focus its aims upon greater stability than can ever come from commercialism. Industrial wealth is something that cannot be produced rapidly without impoverishing the producer. Now we must continue peace between our own capital and labor, between our own producers and consumers, and satisfy our politicians, our army, our navy, and be prepared for the coveted peace among nations. We cannot permit our love for liberty to drive us as a nation to abandon unity, system, and industrial application. Liberty of a free people means freedom to bind ourselves by laws, which, nevertheless, we must strictly and impartially enforce; we must establish a universal system of equal taxation and organize our industry and commerce, to guarantee freedom to consolidate and co-operate, to develop efficiency and bring practical results. America cannot refuse the services of any statesman who will come forward with the solution of our present day problems. Call back to the rescue of our Ship of State, those statesmen lawyers, servants of corporations, if you will, or if the great trade organizers will accept the opportunity of patriotic service, call upon them, but let us reason now together. We have come to the parting of the ways and we must co-ordinate our state and national legislation in one grand effort, once for all, to place America

on the map as a nation of ideals, fearless and powerful; a nation of business men, cohesive and unexploitable; a nation of unity, under one national emblem, honestly and sincerely devoted to world-wide humanitarianism and universal peace. There is now a place and a duty for you, lawyer statesmen, above local interests and business demands, and an expectant nation looks to you with assurance that ways and means will be devised to speedily meet and remedy the apparent need of trusty guides to lead us out of the maze of errors into a new unity of thought, purpose, and activity.

WALL STREET AND LEGISLATION

THE equilibrium of the balance wheel of America depends on Wall Street tickers, and listen to what they say: "Freedom to contract and be bound by contract is a part of our fundamental free institutions, and Congress shall make no law destructive of this basic principle." No legislature shall pass statutes to make water flow uphill, but each must regard the rights of all contracting parties, accomplishing the greatest good to the greatest number. Politicians ask the abolishment of stock speculation, but consider what confusion of business must necessarily follow if courts can judge upon questions of fact as to what is speculation and what is a fictitious value. The answer at once is by dividends, yet consider that many stocks give dividends for many years and then fail, while others give no dividends for many years and then suddenly break away into soaring prices. Our Constitution is sound, while many statutes are unsound, and the right to bind and be bound by contract must continue a recognized constitutional basic principle. A senatorial candidate at a recent election was told that if he vetoed every law introduced he would render the greatest possible national service, at the risk of being the most hated man at the capital. But duty must be performed, for even now we suffer from an excess

of statutory law, which has become the present-day abomination everywhere throughout the nation. The recent New Jersey Commission to revise the municipal laws found a thousand useless statutes, recommending the repeal of all, but how much better if those statutes had never been passed. There is the greatest need for an inspecting judge to pass upon all statutes and cases violating our business integrity, and the time to legislate Wall Street stock speculation out of Wall Street will never come. Rather, it is necessary to curb the tendency to pass innumerable apparently harmless, but often troublesome, unconstitutional statutes to satisfy popular unrest and agitation. Require every prospective law to be first submitted to a constitutional committee and come forth with their approval, so that our legislatures shall not continue to pile laws upon laws, but rather organize business under capable leaders, with full confidence in these leaders, so that every citizen shall have a trade and continue industrious and productive, politically, however, minding his own business.

The United States is subject to an ever-increasing peril from politicians, lawyers, and preachers, who induce large bodies of citizenry to leave honest pursuits and become burdens upon our industrial system. Man must earn his bread by labor, value given in exchange for value is the only honest measure, and the balancing force is honest toil. Gamblers only create fictitious values in exceptional circumstances, but when the workingman is once enticed from his bench, home, and family to the white lights of the

great city, another good citizen is lost and another drone created to further sap the industrial strength of the nation and give nothing in return. The Stock Exchange is a necessary institution, regulating the values of all commodities and securities, under leadership of men capable to organize and systematize world business. Over ninety per cent. of the stocks issued never pay a dividend, just as over ninety per cent. of business enterprises engaged in by men fail absolutely, but the relatively few successes compensate for all the failures. The great weakness of our national organization to-day is that from a standpoint legislatively and economically we are steering the wrong courses, because we do not follow permanent, consistent leaders, and because we discourage and destroy the good influence of great men who, if not interfered with, would organize our business to assure future stability.

As a nation we could exist for centuries with the laws we have, never creating a single new statute, and, indeed, beneficially repealing nine tenths of the laws that encumber and confuse our statute books to-day. Then why waste public funds piling laws upon laws and statutes upon statutes? Let us, rather, codify those we have so that they can be found and used, and not be as traps to the unwary. Then give stability to our institutions by permitting good office holders to hold office long enough for the nation to benefit by accumulated experience. In London one competent police commissioner held office for five years, giving remarkable service, while in New York during the same period thirteen different commis-

sioners were elevated to office and quickly disposed of before they even became acquainted with the men of the force, and the city was robbed of useful service, not by intentional theft, but by such business incompetence as would be criminal in a business corporation. But why should not a municipality be run as a business institution? And why should we be subjected to ten times the greatest political burden to support the most foolhardy and extravagant political machinery the world has ever known? Our people must realize that it is impossible to increase the general amount of wages in this country except by increasing the amount of labor applied to productive pursuits and the commercial avenues of the disposition of produce. It is impossible, in plain English, to increase wages by legislation except in the sense of preferment of one class of workers at the expense of another. Half the statutory law passed by our legislatures is unconstitutional or improper either in form or object. Our financial leaders in Wall Street try to stem the flood, but instead of damming up the stream they are content to eradicate, as far as possible, injurious tendencies.

But the entire principle of these popular political upheavals and notable investigations is wrong. It is like two women arguing on which side of a road a tree is, when they could walk around a corner and see and believe. Business men of America, you are cordially invited to take the helm and guide the Ship of State. We have had enough of these incompetent politicians, who ought to be engaged in honest labor, but who rather prefer to anchor themselves in everybody's

back yard and spend their time in interfering with every form of legitimate business. We must save America from this present peril, and the result can only be accomplished by the leadership of men experienced in affairs and by patriotic forbearance on the part of our laboring classes, until we can attain the necessary industrial efficiency.

THE RAILROAD CONTROVERSY

WITH our enormous investments in railroads, commerce, and manufacturing, we cannot submit to measures destructive or detrimental to the property rights and privileges, bestowed upon individuals or upon corporate bodies, in which individuals have largely invested. It is the function of Government to preserve such property and the individual rights and privileges which it bestowed when these companies were incorporated, nor is there constitutional power in our legislative bodies to change at random rights which we have created and which have now become the possessions of permanently invested capital. If we laid a tax upon these bodies, with the thought of taxing them out of existence, who would uphold the constitutionality of such a burden? We cannot have two sides to the interpretation of Constitutional rights, so that every act or law not in accord with this Constitution, if maintenance of such law is to be insisted upon, becomes no longer fundamentally unconstitutional, but revolutionary. No man or body of men can acquire rights to check or increase the powers of our central Government to make it conform to their opinions, for it is equally revolutionary to erect a better Government and to cure oppressive wrongs if such acts are not duly and regularly performed according to law.

Why this unrest and this haste to readjust the fundamental tenets of our Republic, coupled with a threat of refusal to submit to decisions, by those to whom we have intrusted the final analysis under Our Constitution, and who are sworn to hold sacred every thread of the fabric of the institution of our commonwealth? Our Government is now the recognized organ of a united people, binding them by bonds indissolvable and immutable, except as changed in accordance with authorized and established laws and customs. No legislative body has a right to wilfully violate the uniformity of these fundamental precepts, and no class of citizenry or business men can be favored, for Our Unity depends upon the equality of distribution, in the application of broadening law and the restraint of restrictive measures. So there can be no individual or selective interpretation of constitutional measures, except by the central empowered body, to which we look for the final judgment, which must alike be based upon the instrument from which the deciding powers are derived. It is only by our submission to high and trusted authorities that we can hope to escape oppression and injustice, and this highest body must be kept pure and undefiled of any interest or passion, except to maintain and preserve the source of their power and keep inviolate the pledge of Our Union. There is no right for them to give or take away liberty and privilege, and they cannot change this immutable Law above Law, but only administer the distribution of the central power equally, impartially, and justly to all men. Even where unconstitutional laws are enacted,

we must maintain liberty and order until the question of the unconstitutionality is finally disposed of. When the combinations of capital found new laws harrassing and unprofitable in the extreme, no passion was shown in the submission to unjust enactments, but appeals were made, in regular and due form, with a determination to accept and make the best of the final interpretation of the rights of men. It seems absurd to argue for a fair submission of all interstate law to the proper tribunals, but this argument seems not unnecessary in view of the feelings of our citizenry, seeking new recognition and privilege.

But consider the paths we tread when once we leave any misunderstanding or controversy unsettled, or if we refuse absolute submission to some unchanging code. We do not want one law for wealth and another for poverty, nor is it our policy to make men rich by law, for men appreciate wealth best who gain it through conscientious effort and service. If we can improve upon our constitutions, ways of amendment are provided, slow methods to be sure, but we must not act in haste lest we suffer through long, dreary years of misgovernment and injustice. All special or partial laws, which may seem beneficial to-day will nevertheless in the future cause disturbance and trouble, for such laws undermine the equilibrium and nicety of balance of the machinery of government. This applies to individuals and classes of men, as well as to States and sections of the country, and submission to law by all, for the benefit and best interests of all, is vital to continued prosperity for the whole nation. No other people has ever been blessed

with such border to border happiness and individual opportunity for every citizen as we have conditions here to-day under our Constitution which a Gladstone pronounced the greatest Charter of Rights and Liberties. Now we must scan our legislative enactments and measure and square them with this Constitution, and quickly repudiate all measures which do not fairly stand the test. We must have only one centre of control and never permit that all powerful rule of reason to be swayed or driven by any opinion, prejudice, or influence.

Human beings are by nature social, and united in families, in cities and in society; and we love and favor most those who are nearest and dearest. But law administration is to measure acts and deeds with written rules of conduct, the application of which cannot vary without injustice and partiality, and never must we allow even a suspicion of the presence of these creatures of iniquity to creep into our court proceedings, for our prosperity is founded upon the observance of law and the protection of vested interests. Herewith shall we measure every legislative enactment and decree, that no law shall stand in violation of the privileges of freedom to contract, to buy, to sell, to hold, and to manage property rights and franchises, which the sovereign people have permitted to accrue, as is the inalienable right of every citizen to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Let us then appeal to the reason of every American citizen to hold sacred our institutions of Freedom and Righteousness. Let us admit that those to whom we have intrusted the leadership of this people are

acting wisely and with the highest courage and judgment, to bring order out of chaos and pilot us safely with honor, to increased prosperity and world wide influence and service. To this end every man must do his duty. Each must sacrifice for the common weal, that all may prosper, for the prosperity of each individual is the prosperity of all. Restore harmony and intercourse, and with laws of universal application protect the minority as well as the majority, for honest men do not have to fear the strength of a Democratic Government founded in equality and justice. With courage, confidence, and honor stand for honesty, conviction, and the love of man, to leave men free to contract, to manufacture, and to trade with each other, and only restrain injury and injustice. Wherever in our zeal and sympathy for our fellows we have diverged from the sound discretion of the American people, as shown in their foundation citadel of unity, let us retrace our steps and render to every individual and corporation equal recognition and square administration of every law, and where there is no constitutional law to restrict vested interests, permit full freedom of contract, as far as the universal welfare of all citizens of this Republic will permit. We cannot write history in one day nor in one generation if we are to have endurance and glory. We must first silence prejudice, remove doubts and fears, and reason out every cause and effect, in order to preserve this glorious Union.

Americans have been in the past a restless people, but steady now, stop, look, and listen, we are all minute men, watching and waiting to see how the

national tides turn, and how we can best serve our beloved land. Behold our National Emblem, those forty-eight stars, encompassed in one blue field speak a true unity; those white bars speak of purity of purpose; and those red bars bravery in standing for the Right as we see the Right. We shall never falter, never turn back, but yet keep in mind, with nations as with individuals, one for all and all with a singleness of purpose to promote and engender a universal brotherhood, to which no man or woman shall be a stranger. We recognize neither East nor West border nor breed nor birth in this universal brotherhood, but all men are brothers. There are three kinds of enforced authority: for profit, for caste, and for beneficial service, education, and welfare. The enforced authority for profit is slavery, and the ultimate end of labor should never be profit, but the standard of welfare, that each must work to live and live to work for the welfare of all. The enforced authority of caste may in a minor degree exist even in a family, as the Irishman beat his son saying: "'Tis not because I hate you, I bate you, but to show the authority I have over you." But Democratic authority aims to accomplish beneficial service, education, and the individual and collective welfare of the nation, and in a broader sense of every nation and people. We can have outlaw nations as well as outlaw individuals, and the power of brute force control must be overcome and vanquished by the powers of civilization and humanitarianism, for we stand to favor good men, honest and true to fill every office of honor and power, to bestow justice and prosperity upon our State and Nation.

THE FEDERAL STATE

THE collective interests of forty-eight states, each with its own separate constitution, are guarded by a national state, likewise with an independent complete written constitution over these United States. This Union of States is not an alliance of powers but a single individual Republic, recognized abroad, and with full and absolute authority, to bind itself and every member of the Union by obligations, treaties, and undertakings within constitutional powers, without consent of or reference to the several components, so that the unity is real, absolute, and complete, for better, for worse. With us the Federal State assumes the white man's burden, and acts his part upon the checker board of nations; our central government at home, as well as our rule of territory abroad, must be simple and strong, but it must all proceed from the same federal state, having its roots in the unity and liberty of our constitution. Ours is an impartial government, a business democracy, without favorites, but with common rules of action, to open up, develop and protect avenues of trade opportunities, equally for all our people, whether of State or Territory, to establish treaties abroad and to maintain at home a rule of justice. Business confidence and credit come with the increase in wages, satisfaction among the employed toward the em-

ployers, good-will toward capital, the increase of wealth invested, the number of men employed, and high prices obtained for commodities and productions of labor, combined with the thrift, economy, and toil of all the people. The signs of prosperity are accumulated bank accounts, free and clear homes, low rates of interest, the systematic, rapid reduction of national indebtedness, and the people well clothed, well nourished, and well sheltered. A foolish, corrupt, or spendthrift government brings poverty, misery, and lack of employment and opportunity for business expansion to the people, but the United States measures a man not by wealth, not by learning, not by stature nor by physical strength, but by his capability for efficient service, so that America is an aristocracy of efficiency, from which we choose leaders of the federal state, to give to the state members the blessings of wise and sound governmental administration. The function of the federal state is to create and maintain conditions such as increase the national activities so that capital has confidence in a prosperity not founded on chance, and labor finds a permanent employment. Opportunities of retreat are always at hand, and every wide awake nation is eager to seize any opening, but opportunities to advance and expand seldom occur, and the opportunity passed by never returns. The Federal State is the instrument of the Union to advance or retreat, to expand or contract, to maintain our good name, our credit, our faith, and integrity, in our dealings with every government and people. Moreover a high and sacred obligation rests upon this Federal

State to protect life and property, and to maintain law and order, throughout the realm, upholding and preserving the powers of both State and Federal constitutions.

This leads us to consider what we may term the rudder or guiding power of the Government of the United States of America, the Supreme Court, for our Federal State is in the last analysis founded upon Law, which, while in every respect it must be Constitutional, is in effect supra-constitutional, for the constitution is thereby interpreted. The powers of this Guardian of Our Constitution are most jealously guarded, being the only Court deriving from the Constitution original jurisdiction, and its jurisdiction being above legislative control, and with the inferior Courts forms the guiding star of our national life. The necessity of an intense respect and obedience to judges and those in authority is more necessary in a republic than under any other form of government, for the first element of patriotism is reverence for law, where the supreme law imposed by the people over themselves is the supreme rule of conduct. And the fundamental element of respect for law is to hold sacred every judicial act, to guard every trial and every decision from prejudice, from passion, and from ulterior considerations. As Courts only interpret and never originate law, as they weigh in the balance but never make or subtract from contracts, as they judge criminal deeds by evidence only, and generally know clearly and with absolute certainty the true facts, however obscured or concealed they may designedly be, before judgment is finally

rendered, Americans honor law, even as they honor the Flag, an inviolate power, whose authority we must guard as life itself, for how can even our constitution save us from disorder and anarchy, unless the sacred interpretations thereof, except as changed by those powers to whom we entrust interpretation, are received with uncompromised and uncompromising obedience from every subject. Contempt of Court in a republic should be viewed by patriotic citizens rather as treason than misbehavior, for as we cherish our institutions, when the sovereign people bestow authority, there must be neither insubordination, disobedience, disrespect, nor resistance to the judgment, decrees, mandates, and rulings of that sovereign authority, that justice and good-will be forever the twin cornerstones of our Democracy.

TRADE BOARDS

BUSINESSMEN of America realize now as never before the increasing importance of boards of trade to local and national business life. Public movements of momentous consequence, along all commercial and industrial lines, have their inception and obtain their support from these boards. The President of the United States, his Cabinet and all important public officials now keep in constant close touch with the United States Chamber of Commerce and obtain from that body the most exact and reliable information regarding all current affairs from every section of the country. The United States Chamber of Commerce represents about four hundred thousand business concerns, banded together in some thirty-five hundred trade boards, and the representatives of these boards, meeting at the nation's Capitol, and acting through their permanent organization, form this great American business bureau for the encouragement of American business in every avenue of trade, industry, and commerce. The near future will find the United States the foremost commercial nation, and this union of business men will accomplish the settlement of difficulties between capital and labor as well as controversies and jealousies among all political factions, for to-day our chamber of commerce stands as a

grand monument to co-operation and good-will for mutual advantage and advancement.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States, organized April 22 and 23, 1912, at the National Commercial Conference called by President William Howard Taft and held in Washington, D. C., is simply a federation of all commercial organizations of the nation. Every state, territory, and dependency, as well as American chambers of commerce in several foreign countries, are represented, so that the field for accomplishment is inclusive of every business interest of the country. There are three great factors of national development; manufacturing, agriculture, and commerce. On manufacturing problems the national chamber of commerce, calling for information, advice, and assistance from thousands of industrial centres, takes up the various questions of capital and labor, the tariff and reciprocal treaty affairs, and the development of transportation and commercial highways with the states, as well as with other nations. Only through such a clearing house of business ideas can we hope to persuade the Central West to cease its active opposition to merchant marine legislation and to permit the coast cities to have a fair and square deal in trade relations. The real cause of the great European conflict arose from this very issue, when the Central Powers found their commerce retarded by the active coast nations; but we are one nation and the central states as well as the coast cities will reap immense benefits from a practical co-operative commercial system. Of primary importance also is the agricultural element, which

produces food and all raw materials. Perhaps the problems here are even more difficult to handle because of the special need of laborers and financial assistance every year for short uncertain seasons, to plant and harvest the crops. Every element must be considered and every campaign planned in advance. The resources of the country must be conserved, the soil fertilized, the crops rotated, and the harvests garnered in and shipped to the various storehouses and ports where the demand is urgent. There is room here for many a master mind to actively assist the rural population. Then the third great factor is commerce. Other nations have outstripped us in the past, but we are working in earnest these years to establish foreign trade. Representatives in every foreign market are primarily needed to ascertain what the customer requires, how he wants the goods prepared, what shall be the terms of purchase, and how articles can be exchanged and trade financed. The dealings must be with men like ourselves, and they will not come to us unless we first meet them on their own terms and prove to them that our trade is most advantageous and beneficial for their people. Business is business in the foreign markets, and our manufacturers must know what goods to manufacture, and how to please customers abroad as well as at home. Thousands of trade boards from as many cities regularly receive the reports from the Chamber of Commerce, and the merchants and manufacturers easily meet the necessary requirements and their goods are accepted at foreign ports.

Our future exports will not include many agricul-

tural products for we will need all raw or basic materials for home consumption. But our trade of manufactured articles will boundlessly increase, and the skill of our workingmen must come more and more into competition with foreign labor. We must be able to compete favorably in every field we enter. The American skilled workingman is the most wonderful machine in the world and holds his place far in advance of the labor of all other nations. Nearly every great modern invention has had its origin and inception in the mind of some American mechanic, but as a nation we are like the football team of brilliant individual players, we have not yet learned team work. Here comes the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. Band together, stand together, work together, businessmen of America, for again the slogan of success must be "United we stand, divided we fall." Neither partisanship nor local prejudice shall be allowed to interfere with business, nor shall jealousy or greed retard the welfare of our people, for the Chamber of Commerce is organized and acting as a powerful national force to gather up, focus and give voice to intelligent business opinion wherever and whenever needed. It is high time for us to demand that all our legislation both local and national be constructive and systematically co-operative, for the welfare of every factor of the national life is inseparably linked with every other factor in the great community of interest which now actually exists. Through this Chamber of Commerce we may well recognize labor organizations and direct their legislation so that no selfish objective

can be promoted. Likewise recognize the farmers' grange and the commercial trade bodies, so that these three great factions, with a wholesome respect for each other's strength and with full appreciation of the needs and rights of all, on a platform of common good-will, both for producer and distributor, for labor and for capital, may usher in a new and lasting era of national prosperity.

All this and more has been accomplished by the union of trade boards into a representative body, but the real work of opening up and controlling the great highways of trade is hardly started, so we may expect bigger results from these activities in the immediate future. The local trade board works upon broad lines, open to the criticism of the public and the press, and the members serving, without remuneration, for the honor and advancement of the city community. The officers and committees are always composed of well known, trusted, public spirited citizens, unbiased by partisanship or private influence, and the Board enjoys such local respect and confidence as only a recognized independent body can command. With a purpose to render justice to all without fear or favor, the average trade board meets friend and foe, with valiant fearlessness, unbiased by false reports and unswayed by personal animosities. In their progressiveness, the ideal trade board watches for and turns aside those inadvisable and extravagant projects, so often urged by impractical politicians. The really important present business is to develop opportunities, and to organize into a big live system the many scattered

and opposing forces which, in the existing confusion, too often tend to rend our national unity and to foment clashes of popular opinion. In every workshop, field, and playground of the nation these powerful influences are increasingly active, and through the invaluable central organization at Washington, we are enabled to know each other better, and we can rest assured that a great unity of purpose will rule America for generations to come through the cooperation of our boards of trade.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

RESTRICTIONS upon Liberty of the Press are a measure either of the comparison of the friction of national thought with the thought of other nations, or of individual ideals with governmental plans, for the free expression of thought quickly reaches a common level, just as every other pent up force when released from pressure. This question, seldom mentioned or discussed except in terms of constitutional right or repressive necessity, bears a continuous, vital influence upon every modern controversy. Republicanism is the medium will of an entire people, calculated in terms of government, and while the determinate medium will is always sought and theoretically approved, the upheavals of minority opinion are the terror of all authority, and as we must have authority and must likewise have freedom both of opinion and of the expression of opinion, students of men collectively and individually have been as much at a loss how to manage and use human sentiments as inventors have been to harness and use the power of the ebbing and flowing tides. None have successfully controlled, none have satisfactorily explained, and great controverises have arisen over every unexplainable phenomena, suggested or experienced, and yet the wealth of society, the brains of government and the lives of thousands

of subjects have been exhausted and wasted in vain efforts to enforce the control of society over thoughts, opinions, beliefs, and ideals of men.

There are men who say we must have no government, and we ask them how then can we have regulation of supply and demand and intelligent co-operation, to raise the race of men above the level of a flock of sheep. There are men who say we should have absolute communism of all supplies of food, clothing, and shelter, and we ask them who shall then compel any man to work or what incentive will there then be for genius, invention, art, or skill. There are those who believe men are capable of such complete character development as to sometime form a society where none shall ever wrong a fellowman, but experience teaches that especially those mentally efficient or deficient, and indeed all men, when driven to desperation by physical or mental needs, speedily forget all social restraint, and seek means of self-protection and satisfaction. So there is a rule that liberty of the press is a right not to be wantonly abused, or used for selfish or revengeful purposes to damage or destroy property rights or privileges of other men. Every corporation and citizen has a right to establish a reputation, which when established is a property right; every community has a right to guard every individual, so that every one shall attain the highest efficiency; and every person has the right to the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, so using his own property as not to injure others either in their property, rights, or persons.

It is not men who report facts or express opinions who are dangerous, but the seat of the danger of free public discussion from press or platform lies in the unavoidable ignorance, inequality of education and opportunity for advancement, and innate fondness for self-laudation, of individuals or groups of individuals, who are moved by impulses for which there is no available avenue of expression, or who in their opinions refuse to investigate both sides of a question. Governments have always been forced to penalize dishonesty in every avenue of trade and industry, to fight men of dishonest opinions and low ideals, and to encourage the expression of opinion sought by high ideals to overcome low ideals. Error of opinion arising from subversion of education can be combatted only by reason, and seldom successfully. It is good that the eternal years belong to truth, for this beautiful tree grows slowly, and through the centuries must be many times over pruned and watered. A spontaneous suggestion from the mind of a child is either true or affected by some light of truth received, but the teaching of experience is not there, neither the test of experiment. In all the various doctrines, dogmas and science of the ages, printed or published, there is neither danger nor evil, except as untruths are framed as truths, or extraneous powers, conditions, or circumstances inflame the imaginations of men, and yet it may take both repressive laws and repressive public opinion to protect the established reputations of men in authority from scandal or to protect public morals from malicious or obscene publications, while freedom of the press

must nevertheless ever be an absolute privilege, maintained to determine and present the opinions of the governed to their rulers.

Liberty of the press means that no Governmental, corporate, or individual authority shall dictate or prescribe to a people what arguments upon debatable subjects they shall be allowed to read or what facts may be published or suppressed. Not even one citizen shall be deprived of a right to express his opinion, for he may suggest a truth, as did Columbus when he declared he believed the earth round; and as did Galileo when he declared he believed the earth revolved around the sun, as against the unanimous opinion of his own age and all previous ages to the contrary, proving that there is no such thing as infallibility in the opinions of men. There is no possible restriction under our Constitution either against opinion or the expression of opinion by any citizen of his personal convictions, but there is no privilege thus given to force rejected or undesirable conclusions and arguments upon those to whom they are distasteful. Equally with freedom of speech and of the press, good sense and respect for the opinions of others, especially of those in authority must prevail, and minorities established by popular vote are like a judicial decision, their authority is curtailed until re-established. Whenever forces controlling men are formally given over into the charge of rulers or seized by organized groups of men, we call the operation of such forces Government. Insubordination, disobedience, and treason are only three steps in crime against authority as related to government, just as

dishonesty, theft, and murder are steps in crime against public morals as related to regulation of domestic and commercial relationships. It is not a breach of the constitutional right to freedom of the press to punish insubordination, whether in times of peace or times of war. But in America, toleration is so broad, that through custom in a generation of peace, men regard as legal rights customary public leniency which is not legally a privilege, and just as no land can be lost to the state by adverse possession, no rights of a state can be lost by custom, for rules which apply to individual relationships regarding such privileges do not apply equally to governmental relationships.

Forces of authority must be considered as continually operative, even though invisible and unarmed, and successful government rests in holding the continuous respect of every subject. It is not carrying heavy loads which racks an automobile, but the starting up, sudden retarding of speed, turning corners, or sudden stops, which may break a spring or snap a restraining bond. It is difficult to defeat a person who plays on the defensive, and it is equally difficult to meet the criticism of an opponent who stands by the side of the alleys and criticises every shot. Active shirkers, professional gossip-mongers, and insatiable malcontents are tolerated oftentimes by busy men who are immovably centered so that they cannot retaliate, because they have laid out lines of activity from which they cannot deviate. Just as the patient horse plods along with a yelping terrier at his heels, when in the harness, not even

attempting to kick at the tormenter, so silence is the safest reply to criticism arising from envy or vulgar impertinence. No public act carries within itself more immediate or overwhelming retribution than the flagrant abuse of freedom of the press, and we find all violation of this liberty, and misuse of such privilege equally self-destructive. A great man is not easily provoked and thinketh no evil, and the greatest happiness of life is in self-control. It is a principle of freedom of the press that it must be maintained constructive of authority and destructive of treason. Some people are always picking at shadows and deformities unless their hands and minds are actively engaged, but we must all learn never to fret about what we can help but correct every fault immediately, and then never fret about what cannot be corrected. The public press is the tongue of the people and its duty is to express freely the national ideals, constantly guiding to higher, better planes of thought. All men have equal privileges to place their hobbies or opinions before the people through all channels of free publication, but when their actions pass from expression to proselyting methods, there is at once invoked an equally just and meritorious right of counter attack, and the refusal of the privilege of attacks and counter attacks to contending opinions under any government is not a restraint upon freedom of the press. The peace of opinion as well as the peace of action must equally be preserved, even though it gives the prevailing opinion some seeming advantage.

With every person seated in authority there must

be a power to enforce all decrees, and at the same time all decrees must be reasonable, legal, and equitable. The vote of a people can generally be trusted not to nominate or elect to office men of unsettled or irrational, radical ideals, no matter if these ideals may be theoretically sound. A person in authority, even though he have ideals, is a representative of the ideals of other men and not his own, and hence must neither govern nor be governed by schools of thought not already incorporated in the government of which he is a part. To a tyrannical ruler this detracts from the pleasure of rule, but the sound common sense of a democratic people seldom elects to office a tyrannical mind, and quickly deposes such men from authority, if by chance they have passed the censorship of the mean of public opinion. A monarch cannot use for a lieutenant a man who insists upon grafting ideals of democracy upon every act of autocracy, neither can a democratic president suffer his secretary, who may sincerely believe in autocratic principles along some particular subject, to insistently force his personal peculiar radicalism upon every assembly of state. For every ideal is radical which is in contradiction to the prevailing thought of a people. Governments backed by a conscious, contented public opinion are self-operative, but the might of a majority is often quickly dissipated and destroyed by foolish overconfidence, when a show of force is relied upon to compel obedience, rather than to arouse the slower but infinitely omnipotent power of public opinion to arise and hurl its unquenchable forces upon the disorder. There is no known method of

attack by force against the ideals of a people, once they learn to think and reason and have confidence in leadership, and ideals are hereditary, involuntary, active conceptions of affairs, which it takes as long to change and subjugate as to formulate and solidify. A successful press must learn, observe and always reckon with these latent forces, for not even a Sultan dares openly oppose the prejudices and fanaticisms of his people. Missionaries work for years and discover that only through the slow processes of publicity, operative upon the children of the succeeding generation, can tangible results be obtained, so that all reformers must have patience and use their right to reduce their thoughts to writing and place books in public libraries open to the conquest of truth over fallacy.

We cannot separate the idea of government from the thought of regulation by laws or by authority. If the precepts of authority are verbal and rest in the leadership of one man, we find the evolution very rapid until the point is reached where public opinion codifies the laws as their first act of freedom of the press, and this first act is destructive of that very freedom in the sense of depriving that freedom of its susceptibility of freedom of expression. Yet the codification of laws is an act of freedom, and to receive the full benefit from such codification, the tablets should never be wantonly antagonized, but every change proposed be submitted to popular judgment, and added to the accepted rules of conduct whenever popular demand so decrees. Conformity to established custom and regulation is not only the

easiest but always the safest and best control, and it is a violation of the privilege of freedom of the press to urge opposition to free institutions of a democratic people. Political evolution comes by modifying, adding to, or subtracting from constitutions, and never by revolution, and as evolution is always conservative, the spirit of the press of a nation must always be conservative. Men rant and rave because people will not listen to them and flock to their standards, little realizing that their supposed new ideals are as old as the hills but have never been developed to withstand the acid test of acceptance. A homely illustration is little chickens drinking water, where each little chicken holds up his bill, so that the water may run down hill. Each ruler is for a moment given authority so that the ideals of a people may be further crystallized into fruitage through the slow evolution of progressive thought. Look at the magazines of generations past and the reformer of to-day, who believes himself an original genius, will find discussions in every library dating back all the way from one to a hundred years upon woman's suffrage, prohibition, socialism, and every phase of education, for these same topics have been before the public in every civilized land and nation, but have not been put into actual practice, except as the evolution of progress reaches such a stage as to incorporate these practices into the popular life to which the people are educated. To educate a people to a point where they see the advisability of reform is the part of the press, but reformers cannot individually perceive that all reforms consist of non-essen-

tials, else they could not be inoperative, as whereas, voting is an essential, although woman's suffrage may be desirable, just, and beneficial, it is not essential to popular vote, although in an amazonian commonwealth it might be the entire vote. Whether society can reach a condition of relationship, where there can be complete individual equality either in the family life or the political life, is questionable, because where there is authority, there must be subjection to authority, and all order of conduct is based upon authority.

The press of a nation evolves and creates the thoughts of the people, but it is not the function of the press to drive or lead the people into these avenues of thought. Freedom of the press must not conflict with freedom of the individual or in national life with freedom of majorities of individuals. Every generation must learn anew the history of all national free institutions, to reverence these and make no radical change inadvisedly. That is why almost impenetrable safeguards are placed around constitutional or judicial amendments, because the oversight of experience, experiment, and tradition has been the cause of downfall of both monarchies and republics in the past and will be the downfall of any land and people which forgets to respect established precedent and order. And as we compare modern law with all the codified laws of which history has record, we are surprised to find how little variance appears in law, the variance generally appearing in the respect for law, which then is the real test of the height and power of civilization in a nation. The power of a

ruling authority is likewise not a measure of respect for law because fear is not respect, but is the cause of the downfall of authority, because the moment the restraining power is lost or disappears, there being no respect for authority, the sane rule of reason is at once overwhelmed by revolution. The free press of a nation is therefore a most important instrument to constantly maintain respect for law and authority and hold the ship of state constantly directed toward the goal of healthy political virtue.

The ideals of a nation are a granite wall against which it is nonsense to beat one's head, or to attempt to push them down. Penetration can be made only by the slow drill of conscientious effort or like the man in the rushing torrent, swim to the shore by yielding to the tide, yet constantly working across the current. The foaming torrent is not quenched, but rushing to the sea, seeking its level, is again evaporated and carried inland by the winds of which it is said we know not whence they come or whither they go. So the civilizations of nations spring up themselves in fruitage for men, and the great need of every age is for harvesters to gather and distribute the harvests, rather than for teachers who speak things they understand not of. Popular education however will accomplish a gradual equalization of personal development among all the people, and is the greatest safeguard of every free institution. The free press acquires the widest and most influential educational power in a democracy, and without it no definite representative action can continue, because if the electors of representatives are ignorant, who shall be

the choosers? Power which names its successor is monarchy, so we prove beyond controversion that absolute liberty of the press is one of the fundamental elements of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, and in its proper channels cannot be denied unrestricted right of expression of every individual and national ideal.

It is an inalienable right for any citizen to hold such opinion, dogma, doctrine, or creed as he may adhere to, and to follow any occupation, trade, or pursuit he may desire, if not contrary to the established national order, and every man is presumed innocent of wrong doing, until proved guilty. Expression of opinion by a free press as to the guilt of an accused person may be not merely unjust but legally a misdemeanor without any curtailment of the right of freedom of the press resulting; for lack of respect of courts is contempt of court, and no matter how powerful the press may be, it must be subject to the same authority as applies to individuals. Every man shall have freedom to pursue his own happiness, secure in all his personal rights, for equality consists in treating inequalities as equals. Sudden action must be made impossible, in order to create thought and discussion before action, for we find that disinterested parties are always the best judges, as we require every member of a jury to be disinterested and uninformed, at least to such a degree as not to have formed an opinion. The religion of true Democracy is the spirit of impartial justice and freedom both of opinion and of the expression of opinion. The press must learn to call right right, and wrong wrong,

to face the tasks of life with sympathy, and yet to teach men with caution, authority, and discretion. The safest rule is to honor every noble charitable act, destroying evil by refusing it publicity, for it is error to say that there can be no harm in the publicity of evil things, as many have stated in defense of freedom of the press, for base things need universal condemnation, like weeds to be rooted up and burned by the fire. Yet facts concerning actual problems and experiences of life, straight forward, sincere and honest expressions of truths, lend a moral purpose to crown justice with mercy and charity with instruction. The press of a nation guides the development of self-reliance and fair play among all citizens, creating the self-expression of independent judgment. The press never gives reasons for opinions, for it is and must be only a reflector of opinions and judgments, in theory at least, and how publicity can build up reputed character is shown by the popular conception of many a man, small in stature, as a giant, as he may indeed be mentally. The powerful agency of a free democratic press has an increasingly important responsibility as the independent thought of a people is encouraged and developed and their self-directive thought learns initiative, both from majorities and minorities, as each successively arises to power and falls.

In all civilized states the public press is the guardian of national ethics as we may call the national conscience. The rectitude of actions and transactions is often far different from the legality, and no greater fear terrorizes the hearts of the parasites of

society than exposure in the columns of some arm of public opinion. Law can never reach or regulate conscience or rather lack of conscience, but public opinion can and does change all history and government action by reasonable demands, so that in the long run conditions are equalized to permit the freest possible play of all individual and collective forces. The expression of public opinion comes through a free press, and only by this power can society be protected against combinations of unscrupulous men to control trade and industry to the permanent disadvantage of all competitors. Silence every complaint, and leave the darkness of slavery; destroy every personal ideal, and leave the helplessness of the lack of co-operation and fair play; interfere with the free expression of all initiative and genius, and leave the black despair of tyranny and oppression. Equitable conditions must be maintained, there must be a medium for complaints and accusations open to scrutiny, and there must be a method to show the application of experiences of the past to the problems of the present, in order that the sovereign people may express opinions. They must not only have opinions to express but facts must be provided to them, upon which to base opinions, and the duty of a free press is continuously to act as the operative and operating medium to convey opinions from mind to mind, until the assembled national thought reaches mature growth and manifestation in its appeal to the hearts of men.

GOOD GOVERNMENT

GOOD Government is to a nation what a level head is to the individual, and no more difficult field of labor can be suggested than the field of Public Service. The lack of confidence of the public in politicians is wrong and harmful, and the thinking public must learn to view public works and workers with magnanimous charity, for constant censure and fear of popular disapproval will break down the strongest public servant. It is customary for men to view all quasi-public corporations and construction companies as graftingly dishonest, whereas the bidder should be judged worthy of his contract, and measured only by his ability to serve the public. Good men have been lost and destroyed for political service by the slander of hasty judgment, decreeing that every malicious hint of the betrayal of public confidence was true, whereas none of our citizens need protection from unjust criticism more than our politicians, whether independents or working in machines. It is a patriotic duty of every citizen of a republic to render honor, obedience, and respect to every leader, whether elected or appointed, and where they have to the best of their ability and understanding served the public, regard them as the friends of the community, entitled to favor and gratitude.

New candidates cannot step into political power and run a government without experience and training, for without preliminary association with the party members and government machinery, it is as great folly to expect to run a government, as to expect to run a big business without preparation. Business men know political machines are absolutely essential to good government and the popular craze to destroy every political school of thought must cease, for the destruction of political machines means anarchy. No party machine refuses a good man, true, tried, and actively useful, an opportunity to make good with the people; indeed such men are eagerly sought for, and over and over again, entire communities are canvassed to find suitable leaders. Politics is a big business, and no man should be elected to high office whose only qualification is some impractical notion of petty reform. Good Government is a business proposition, not a fad; the men who manage politics must understand how to run the machine, as much as a soldier must understand a rifle; he must not merely know how to shoot, but what is much more important, how to load, clean, and care for the gun. Make politics an honorable profession, as it should be, for every great future prospect depends upon the confidence in, and public-spirited unselfish service of, our politicians.

No patriotic citizen, enraptured by charitable emotion, can afford to sacrifice good business talent, simply to cast himself upon the altar of political reform. Our President, in the present crisis, does not request public service employees to quit their

jobs and enlist, for every job is a man's job, and every man engaged in useful service is engaged in patriotic duty. Practical co-operation of good men is what is needed in politics. Some one has to do the work, some one has to organize, some one has to keep accounts, to meet committees, to write up opinions, to estimate and to perform. The influence of every politician with his friends and acquaintances is a sacred power, a confidential relation; and what we want to do is to promote social appreciation and assistance, to treat as honorable every political aspiration, to legislate wisely, if at all. Government officials deserve appreciation and credit for every good service rendered, and we should extend to them this courtesy on every possible occasion. Party leaders and the servants of the government are vexed and discouraged by the indifference of the public to good service, and the time is here to vote men into office for competent activity only, and then stand up for their integrity when elected to office. Salaries of public office holders are seldom very high, but always capable of supporting the office in reasonable comfort, and taken as a whole, the management of party distribution of offices is fair and the candidates are fit for service.

The Government administration of every community should, as far as possible, follow the plan of a business corporation, under civil service laws, founded in personal efficiency for work in all offices both appointive and elective. The political evils of office trading can be best alleviated in this way, and the public saved from the loss of service when

experienced men are thrown out of office at a change of administration, and new, inexperienced men take their places. Often political leaders are so unselfish and regardful of service rendered by aides in the party that when offices are requested for the faithful, they cannot refuse, and here at least laws are generally beneficial to make such refusal imperative and not optional with the boss. There is a higher standard of political service to-day than ever before, as the politician realizes he actually serves as a trustee in charge of public funds, and all that is needed is public emphasis of the trust relationship to make his fidelity assured. There is very little unfairness in politics and business as a matter of fact, and good wages from employers to employees is the best profit-sharing plan devisable. There is a happy mean which permits fair profits and fair compensation, and the action of supply and demand both for labor and produce strikes this equality much closer than most of us imagine.

Our constitution grants to individual men personal liberty in employment, in investments, in business, in home life, and in political and social activity, and we cannot have free government and undue interference with this personal liberty at the same time. Men act upon their own initiative with intuitive enterprise and energy, but to use the government as a guiding star to every business man, is a dangerous policy. Not only does such policy tend to create thousands of office holders worse than useless, but the citizen gets out of the habit of independent thought, and incapable of achievement.

Every man has different talents, and he gains strength and power by working out his own salvation. What we require is free opportunity for business to expand, and the ultimate outcome we can safely trust to the common sense of the American people. It is not fair for a man to risk great loss and be entitled to inconsiderable profits only, and the success of business cannot be guaranteed by the government, so that therefore freedom to contract and be bound by contract is clearly best for all, and even if some lose money at times, they gain in shrewdness and experience. That nation serves its people best which provides a systematic rule, simple yet enforced, and with no room in practical politics for experimental movements. We have a good and complete constitution, founded in liberty and justice, which guarantees security to life and property; and the one great and important objective of Government is to see that justice and security are established for all men, that business contracts are enforced, and that security of the person and property is assured to all.

The great dangers, which from time to time apparently threaten our free institutions, are imaginary rather than real, for naturally in political life, as in every other evolution of activity, agitations and shifts of policy occur at random, but we have a foundation bulwark in our national constitution that can only by a long series of deliberations be amended, let alone infringed upon, by vacillation of public opinion, so that fears of despotism are unfounded in this republic. When cliques of men appear to hold a temporary restricted balance of power, it is never-

theless the duty of every citizen to obey, until by elective measures right again triumphs, in order that righteousness be maintained; and in no wise should criticism and antagonisms be hurled at every office holder, thereby depriving all of efficient government service, for submission to authority and good-will toward authority are joint virtues and at all times commendable. We must regard honest differences of opinion as the personal rights and privileges of all men, for our liberties are secured to us only by the constant pressure of law and order. Men are influenced by ambition, and oftentimes by selfish interest, but the medicine is more dangerous than the disease when the rule of authority is violated. We have established tribunals of justice and general acceptance of their conclusions, as founded in the best public policy and wisdom, is essential to the preservation of peace and order.

We must trust our legislatures and respect our courts, for it is dangerous equally for lawmakers and law interpreters to have their opinions swayed by fears of public disapproval. Uphold the arms of those who independently decide for the right as they see the right, and let us have courageous men in legislative halls and on the bench; and always remember that the essential attribute of law is to afford protection to life and property, and security for business development and operation, and not to please or be biased by public opinion, no matter how urgent some temporary need may appear. We must establish and maintain absolute justice, not only for this generation but for other generations yet unborn,

to hand down to them a worthy inheritance, to maintain firm and true, measured by the square of justice and fair impartial competition, our magna charta of the equal rights of men to education, self-development, and selective employment, to permit no temporary majority to sway the subjection of a sovereign people to lawful authority, self-imposed and self-established, and finally to preserve inviolate these established liberties of a free and independent people.

THE BIG BROTHER IDEA

WHEN a man uses his ability and wealth simply to add to wealth, what is his profit? It is an old French theory that the wealth of neither the individual nor the nation can ever be measured in terms of money; for suppose the national resources were reduced to a heap of gold, without ability to use or trade the gold, where would be the value? So the scientist has told us that there can be no music except as there are ears to hear, and no such thing as beauty except there be eyes to see. So there is no true use of ability and wealth of the individual except in the high enjoyment of service to others. Where is the satisfaction in having a dozen beefsteaks cooked and ready to eat when the appetite is already appeased? Of what use are a dozen extra beds, or coats, or houses, or lands, beyond personal needs? So the man who spends his life filling bags of wealth, with never a moment of peace or pleasure, with never a thought of assisting some distressed brother, leads the narrowest life imaginable. And there is a larger idea of a household than the immediate family, for we all succeed by treading the toil-trodden ways worn by others. The trails to the gold fields were marked by the whitened bones of those who had failed to reach the promised land, but these very hideous remains guided others along the same road to success,

and so likewise our great organized industries have reared their success upon the multifold failures of little men.

But nobler far is the spirit of self-sacrifice to assist or save another. The African ants, to cross a stream, will form a rope of live bodies, over the water, and the entire ant army passes over, but those forming the bridge are usually washed downstream and sacrifice their lives. We love ability, great thoughts, and self-sacrifice; and the greatest results follow the most intense self-denial.

Abraham Lincoln studied books at night by the light of a pine torch, and Harriet Beecher Stowe received her inspiration of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and wrote the book in spare moments between household duties and rocking the baby to sleep. The first American Thanksgiving Day followed pitifully small crops, grown with infinite toil and care, upon the bleak New England Coast, by the survivors from the *Mayflower*, after more than half the gallant company had perished from disease and exposure, and our present is builded upon their struggles and sorrows. It is the labor of our toiling brothers that builds our homes and roads, that mines the coal, iron, and precious metals, and provides the industry for expanding trade. As the champion runner neared the goal, he thought of his friend, who had never won a prize, but who, with distressed, panting breath, was trying to overtake him, and he slackened his pace and allowed the friend to win. Was it worth while? A young man in the relentless rush of business care remembered a mother who had watched over him in

years gone by, and sacrificed all to train him for the career of fame. He bestowed in return a little companionship, and gave comfort to the declining years, and was it worth while?

Yes, when you see a distressed brother, stop a minute, give a little assistance to his relief, and bring a little pleasure and comfort; and ask him in turn to pass it on to increase the good-will of men to men. When the father brings home the presents for Christmas, is not the enjoyment of the family his greatest pleasure? The Big Brother Idea is the big human family, and there is so much in friendship that we can never say time is not well spent in 'cultivating the brother spirit one with another. As Lord Byron wrote:

“It must be so, 'tis not for self,
That we so tremble on the brink,
And striving to o'erleap the gulf
Yet cling to being's severing link.
Oh, in that future let us think
To hold each heart the heart that shares,
With them the immortal waters drink,
And soul in soul grow deathless theirs.”

OUR NATIONAL UNITY

AMERICA looks forward to a time when there shall be neither North nor South, East nor West, border nor breed nor birth; where here a united people will declare again they have established once for all a free race; where liberty and truth shall flourish, beyond the fettering influence of the illusionary power of accumulated wealth; when no longer shall a crown of thorns be pressed upon the brow of labor, nor mankind be crucified upon a cross of gold.

Our national ideal must rest upon a foundation of brotherhood and understanding with all our people, for, after all, both capital and labor, men, women, and children, have similar interests, needs, and aspirations. Our government has full right to assist, advise, and direct the work and welfare of all its citizens to useful and productive channels, for as in time of war and peril such right is admitted, so as times of peril are always with us, such right is also ever a part of our legal fibre. We must go much further than simply to regulate life and work in factory and tenement; idlers must be compelled to work; then the sick and diseased must be eliminated, and the enemies of our institutions be defeated. To do this we must again survey our Constitution, our ideals and national aims, unify and codify all

objectives and revive a national unity. Woe to any man who refuses to stretch out a helping hand to a needy brother, but how much more to a government which is heedless of the well-being of its people? We must get down to facts, and not fool the people with impossible promises and not encourage impractical idealism.

We are not morally sincere in many of our vaunted policies, and our leaders, both politicians, preachers, and capitalists, are not squarely meeting the great questions of state, but, rather, evade liability and deny justice. Legislation of duplicate, confusing taxation upon incomes, realty, and personalty stands on our statute books, and laws of crude, violent anti-trust regulation are ridiculous in the light of the need of a tax with an object to produce income, equally distributed and rated to all citizens, and the regulation of our business, commerce, and manufacturing plants to increase efficiency and productiveness, and accomplish the greatest good for the greatest number. I well remember at college how easy a translation became when we took a pony and retraced our work, and how easily we reached the solution of a difficult problem in algebra when we looked at the answer first and then worked backward. So in government we need statesmen who will study the ultimate ends in view and then direct legislation toward objective ideals, so that the attainment of commensurate results may be assured. Centre the cumulative force and power of all our legislative and regulative forces upon the temporal and physical welfare of every wage-earner, farmer, mechanic, and business man to

co-ordinate and consolidate and converge to a common focus the industrial and commercial interests of America.

A farmer discharged his workman for inefficiency after years of service, and heard this complaint: "When I am old and sick I am fired, although I have worked so hard at such low wages, I have saved nothing. When the old mare got sick you sent for the horse doctor, gave her a warm bed and the best of food and care." Has a government any interest in the governed beyond collecting taxes and administering affairs of state, and can we not see the principle that a nation is like life, for we can bring nothing into this world and we can take nothing out? No man can rob the nation by active work in its industrial fields, but he does rob his nation by being himself idle, inefficient, and non-productive. At the Federal Military Training Camp appeared a tendency for the government to extend its care for the men of the army to civilians by supporting free dispensaries. So great was the success that in addition to all the men undergoing several physical examinations, on some days as high as twenty-five per cent. of some companies applied for free treatment and advice. No man left the training camp without invaluable information and benefit, and if these picked men found such requirements for free dispensary service, how great must be the terrible need of the crowded tenements of our cities, where vice and disease rule. While we encourage the immigration of millions of unfortunates to our shores from foreign lands, we fully neglect not only the countless hordes of our cities, but the

great masses of our citizens, except as fickle private humanitarianism inefficiently reaches out aid and succor.

There is no government in the world to-day that rises to such high theoretical conception of true civilization as the United States. But there is likewise no nation so disorganized and so lacking in the enforcement of its idealism. Our flag flies over corruption and intrigue, over neglect and wastefulness, over careless indifference and inefficiency. But the powers of corrective right living are marching on, groping blindly in darkness, but still with purpose and good intentions. Do we fear imperialism, or militarism, or churchism, or capitalism, or what do we fear, that we hold back and refuse to vindicate the institutions of our Commonwealth? As our President has said, let us "establish justice, not only, but justice with a heart in it, justice with a pulse in it, justice with sympathy in it." Our Constitution is our citadel of refuge against popular upheaval, our "Ark of the Covenant" to divide the waters of confusion, the light we have followed now for a century and a half. Can we abandon these ideals, this unity, this great Commonwealth to policies of inefficiency? Then revive the spirit once again of sturdy American manhood, clearing the waste land, toiling at forge and factory, roving over seas and oceans, and able and willing to bear arms and shoot guns in defense of American ideals. I ask again, what are we afraid of and what holds us back? Come forward, then, talented and educated men of the country, and be leaders of this people. America

calls her business men to band together, stand together, and actively co-operate with the Government of these United States to stamp once more inviolate upon our standards the watchword "Unity."

NATIONAL DEFENSE

AMERICANS have so long listened to the story that they lead the world, that tranquilly they rest on their laurels, while investigations whitewash our fellow-patriots and prove conclusively that everything is improving. Have we lost the art of doing things and applying the knowledge and information to our own need? Must we admit that our youth have not the old-time snap of discipline and responsiveness and the ability to apply mind and body in clear thought and action? How can we expect boys to develop active brains and strong, supple muscles seated at a desk all day, dressed up to kill, smoking cigarettes and chewing gum on the sly? Men are not made that way, and such methods also produce a rather insipid style of womanhood. I am right, because I have seen it, felt it, lived through it all, and met the humiliating admission that the modern system of intense academic education is fundamentally wrong in at least this one particular.

Now the reaction turns to football, hockey, automobile races, fishing trips, raising fancy chickens and pet dogs, but everything must tend to be polite and aristocratic, must be absolutely non-productive and artistic, and if the least trace of worthy efficient action or intention appears, the caste is lost, and the culprit is condemned to social oblivion. And if one

of these society lions seeks a job it must be as broker, gambler, office clerk, real estate and insurance agent, speculator, developer or designer of fancy cards and rugs, or in literature, or politics, or even a position of salesman for automobiles might pass as proper, but the man who looks forward to being an inventor, a machinist, a detective, a policeman, a soldier, a sailor, or even a practical farmer, my, how quickly the mighty fall. Because these things are not taught in the public schools, because the youth are not taught a practical knowledge of agriculture, mechanics, and commerce, because boys are no longer apprenticed to those who understand trades, these conditions have come to pass. We hate to face the naked truth, but am I so far from a home thrust?

Now, turn to this new idea of the Federal Military Training Camp, which is most properly started with recruits from our universities of learning, to prove that American gentlemen can dig ditches, shoot guns, wash clothes, walk, run, and live for a whole month at a time in active country life. We never would have believed it possible, but it has been done. How quickly the soldier snaps up his back, with head erect, the flabid muscles stiffen, and instantly every command is obeyed, for the soldier finds himself one of many, and never a man dares fail in the least particular. Not only the strategy of military tactics is taught; far more important is the compliance with sanitary laws and regulations, regular hours for food and sleep, drills, hikes, and calisthenics, lectures, debates, and police duty, obedience, discipline, and co-operation. What is this police duty? The ap-

pointees clean the company streets, keep order, see that all men are asleep at 9:30 P. M., and that does not permit card playing or telling of funny stories after the last bugle call, either. They wash regular, eat regular, drill regular, attend physical examinations regular, dress alike, act alike, and the atmosphere is full of equality, fraternity, and Americanism. It is hard work, to be sure, but the mental, moral, and physical training continues, and the step becomes elastic, the eye clear and sparkling, and the soldier feels like facing any foe and upholding the old Revolutionary motto: "Don't tread on me."

We can well bring this military training into every public school. I call it military training, because there is no proper word yet to describe this new idea, but it stands for practical common sense education in how to live, so as to create in each individual life the greatest possible efficiency of service. The soldier never asks useless questions, but receives brief, concise orders, without details, uses his discretion in execution, and merely reports results, and duty performed. The soldier is neat, orderly, and careful of his personal appearance and of his belongings, for no sloppy housekeeping is permitted in army tents. The soldier is prompt, steady, and courteous, and obeys with alertness and intelligence. A soldier respects the rights of others, reverences the flag and the institutions it represents, and holds his sublimest duty service to his country and to his fellowmen. Can you beat it, and can we not as a nation offer our young men to be initiated as recruits into such a system? We do not need a military machine nor a

standing army, but we must train our young men in the art of self-defense, of physical well-being, and of efficient activity, and spare neither expense nor time to bring about this result as speedily as possible. There is not a nation of Europe in such sloughs of torpidity as we have been, and now let us be men, and take our stand as men among men, striving for peace, but prepared for any emergency.

THE STRENGTH OF OUR NAVY

AS FAR back as history reads we find that civilization, national progress, and national power always follow the merchant marine; and cities of culture invariably are built up as commercial or trade centres, where merchantmen and ships of war come and go, for life on the sea breeds freedom from care, liberality of thought, and activity of body and mind. After a century and a half of independence, the United States of America has drifted so far from this source of recuperation of power as to be actually in peril of losing both our prestige and trade because the wisdom of Emperors and Princes exceeds that of selfish popular representatives; valuable opportunities are turned from our shores, and we have sold our birthright for a mess of pottage. One great complicating reason is that there is no unity of thought in America, no national budget, no interstate commission with any real power to direct the affairs of the nation as a united people, and the favoritism of individual states, each in turn for patronage sake, is all wrong. Another reason is that our professional politicians are so selfishly engaged in securing their berths and feathering their own beds that all interests of the nation are lost sight of, and this condition of public life can only be remedied by a commission in charge of the commercial relations of these United

States, like to our Supreme Court in the legal department, with full regulative and directive power, each member holding office for life. Such a commission directorate would not constantly shift as political parties rise and fall, and, secure in power, could give some uniformity of object to the navy and merchant marine.

The crying needs of the merchant ships and navy vessels are one and the same, to provide, first, men; then ships; then opportunities for trade and service. To supply men, the seamen's life must be made both remunerative and attractive. The Government of the United States, rather than worry over owning the railroads, would do well, while our foreign merchant marine is in its second infancy, to take over this field of operation and enter the commercial game in force and earnest, and lead the way, with an American fleet of freight and passenger service vessels, to trade at every port. There would not actually be a loss in such operation, for the gain would be a necessary complement to our navy of practical consort, transport, and supply vessels, which, if war threatened, could be armed and armored. We must educate sailors and seamen at any price from our citizenry, and the roving sea-following population of a commercial nation is the most effective protection possible against invasion by force, as well as the more dangerous but less open attacks against trade and business.

The opportunity is here to-day for ships flying the American flag to enter where all others dare not tread, and the United States finds itself for a brief

instant free from the powerful fetters of commercial dependence to which a few years ago we were apparently hopelessly and eternally subjected. And unless we take immediate advantage of the present-day opportunities we will be refettered with bonds of double strength, so that we may never escape, but be compelled to pay an enormous annual tribute, such as in a few years will leave us again indebted to every commercial power. We cannot afford to permit all our trade abroad to be carried under foreign flags, and only by continuously applied clever devices have we been held in traps, in fancied security, but in reality fettered and bound.

Foreign powers allow discount rates to all merchandise carried in their own ships, subsidize every important trading vessel and pave the way for export and import trade. In addition to all this, they provide men and equipment, and so give useful employment to hundreds of thousands of citizens in profitable pursuits, and by such slight favoritisms drive our commerce from the seas. And we have placidly endured it all, amazed and stupefied at the millions upon millions of debts held by more favored nations over this land. Home labor must help provide and educate sea labor, and our manufacturers encourage and support our merchant marine, for commerce is the only known method disposing of surplus produce when home markets are overflowed. Then the need of raw materials ever increases and, by a little systematic effort, exchange trade routes can be provided which will assure permanent patronage and handsome profit by allowing our manufacturers to ex-

change direct their manufactured commodities for raw materials. Thus we see how this question of a merchant marine interests the inland states.

This is a serious question and not to be carelessly thrown aside in an uninterested fashion, for upon our solution of the problem of supplying opportunities for our people depends our future security. We cannot allow ourselves to be caged and cooped up again as we have been during the last hundred years. This is no imaginary flight of mental derangement, but a present ready peril, which will envelop us and sap our life blood in a few generations if we placidly surrender ourselves to fancied security and luxurious ease. The remedy is easy and is at hand, but only the leader is needed to stir the adventurous blood into commercial activity, sing the glories of the deep and call forth the youth of the nation to awake out of their drowsy sleep and be men, meet the problems of men and prepare America to weather storms of international competition for trade supremacy, which are even now gathering with rumbling thunder, ready to spill out torrents of destructive rainfall upon our beloved people at the trumpet call for the renewal of the all-overpowering commercial aggrandizement over every sea.

BEYOND PETTY POLITICS

REACH out for great principles, but overreach trifles; all Americans are interested in our business prosperity, and a well-directed punch will accomplish more than the most forcible argument. In government service there is a crying need for men selected and trained in advance entering civil service positions determined to dedicate their ability to make organization the keynote of democracy. We cannot afford to take citizens indiscriminately from our business centres, and ride them into politics, thus robbing the trades of all capable leaders and filling our legislative halls with men who have no reasonable qualifications and no possible ability for the work required of them. The system of filling political positions by promotions is far superior and guarantees effective, faithful service, by competent, understanding, trained office holders. We must have co-operation of our government with our business men, for the great object of the governing power is to develop and protect business. How we have fallen when we make the sole object of our government to develop and protect politicians. Require for every man the opportunity of living wage and never depose competent men because they oppose political organizations, and the placing in power of incompetent men simply because they will do the will of some

political boss without scruples or question. As long as American business men are so wrapped up in the solution of their own problems that they cannot take time to consider national affairs, which vitally affect their interests, so long will they be subjected to misrule, to partiality, and to the waste of all public funds, with no benefits or results.

We Americans think we do our duty when we systematically discourage and destroy all the patriotic efforts of men in public life. But I do not believe this is a resultant consideration, but a habit to distrust and attack every political jobber as a public enemy; and the true attack is in nine cases out of ten planned and executed by jealous or hostile political enemies, and the people simply follow the blind leader and never consider whence the attack has originated. It is by such methods that office holders are held in deadly terror of organization leaders, for they know that immediately such attacks begin, friends desert and their enemies triumph. Practically every man who enters public life comes forward inspired by honest, patriotic motives, and only unreasonable and unfair burdens force capable men to retire. But here lies the duty of men of business affairs to steadfastly unite their efforts, to place and keep in office men of usefulness, for this nation is our nation, these expenses of running the government are our expenses, and this national development and preparedness is our own, so we must consistently aim for big projects and see that business men are at the helm of state. But men do not like strange men, and time is therefore not always

wasted in get-together meetings, rubbing elbows and chipping thoughts, until each has some idea at least, under given circumstances, where the other will stand. Men must have suitable opportunities of rest and recreation and plenty of the best food obtainable to render service of the highest efficiency. Capable employees are the greatest and most valuable asset of the employer, and loyal workers should cheerfully work overtime when necessary and be permitted to enjoy privileges of freedom at opportune occasions.

A public sentiment is needed to realize that every national loss, either of goods or of individual efficiency, detracts just that amount from the sum total of our net national resources. Railway lines, steamship routes, highways, agricultural developments and business operations are all our own national resources, and we should every one of us, citizens of this great republic, take an actual, deep pride in adopting an attitude of encouragement and good-will toward all our great industrial systems and leaders. Desist from all primitive measures against patriotic leaders who have tried, failed, and will, if permitted, try again; for the loss of a few dollars is pitiful nothingness as compared with the destruction of individual character and effort. This modern regulation of national and local business by foolish laws of restraint is working havoc far and wide, and the policy we are now pursuing, if continued, will ruin our standards of business. But here again I am not afraid, for I see the great circle of exploitation, graft, and inefficiency slowly fading, and in its place shines forth a new public sentiment in and toward both our great

organizations of labor and our industrial transportation and commercial activities, upon which the future welfare of our beloved country so vitally depends. Now it is up to the people of the United States to join hands, minds, and hearts in one great, determined effort to rid the nation of non-producing drones once for all and make the government of this great commonwealth to be operated by and for the business men of America.

ANECDOTES OF PATRIOTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

PATRIOTISM is the moving element both of the soldier in battle and the life of the scouts and statesmen who open the way for war and make the terms of peace. Every nation needs men who will plan great ideals and dedicate their lives and their fortunes to public service, for all great reforms and revolutions are accomplished by men leading men. By the records of anecdotes in individual lives of patriots we can trace the history of our own Revolution, as a South Carolina paper said: "One soul animates 3,000,000 of brave Americans, though extended over a long tract of 3,000 miles." Paul Revere, a noted Boston patriot, heard that a detachment of troops would march out twenty miles to destroy the stores of the 4,000 minute men at Concord. When the two lanterns on the Old North Church tower flashed the advance, he entered Lexington, where Hancock and Adams were asleep. "Don't make so much noise," shouted a guard. "You will have noise enough before long, the regulars are coming," he replied. Ethan Allen burst into the commander's room at Fort Ticonderoga, seized all the cannon and arms, and forced a complete surrender. These very cannon Washington moved to Boston, and when General Howe realized he was not only sur-

rounded in Boston, but under cannon fire, he took one good look from his spyglass at the American guns on Dorchester Heights and with 1,000 Tories and 8,000 soldiers he left to General Washington a bloodless but most glorious victory. The Whigs and patriots held a day of rejoicing, while Congress voted Washington a gold medal to commemorate the great occasion.

In June, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, offered in Congress this resolution: "Resolved, That these United Colonies are and of right ought to be Free and Independent States." John Adams, of Massachusetts, seconded the resolution, and with Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingston of New York, they drew up the Declaration of American Independence. On July 4, 1776, John Hancock, president of Congress, signed it in a strong, bold hand which the King of England could read without glasses. These men thus marked themselves as American patriots, dedicating their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor mutually to either stand united or hang separately, according to the failure or success of the cause. Robert Morris, of Philadelphia, on New Year's Day, 1777, went from house to house throughout the city, collecting \$50,000 for Washington's army at Valley Forge, and this sum saved the army from disorganization. With the supplies captured at Trenton, after the defeat of the Hessians, Washington quickly moved to Princeton, where he arrived just in time to meet Cornwallis, who had told his officers the night

before they would bag the old fox in the morning. Washington and his guard stood between the two lines under fire from both sides, and all supposed they were killed; but when the smoke cleared and showed the commander uninjured, the American forces struck a quick blow and then retired to strong and safe winter quarters at Morristown. Benjamin Franklin loaned all his ready money, \$15,000, to Congress and finally got \$5,000,000 French loans to help the cause. Daniel Morgan, of Virginia, commanded 500 sharpshooters, and it was said that any man could toss up an apple and shoot out the seeds before it fell to the ground. Paul Jones appears to have raised the first American flag at sea, made from an old blue army overcoat with white stars to represent the states and the bars made from strips from a red petticoat and a sailor's white blouse, and so combined the army and navy, the men and the ladies all united in the first flag. Soon came the great victory when Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga, and Lafayette ran to General Washington with letters from Paris, exclaiming: "The King, my Master, has acknowledged the independence of America, and will sign a treaty to help you establish it."

American daring was a by-word, for, although England defeated France and Spain at sea, Paul Jones and others won ship after ship till "mistress of the sea" was spoken in a whisper. Mad Anthony Wayne, like Ethan Allen, boldly plunged into the fortress at Stony Point and took the fort by bayonet at midnight with all the supplies; thus he saved Connecticut from British invasion and confined Sir Henry Clinton to

New York City. Meanwhile Captain George Rogers Clark, of Virginia, drove the British from Illinois and Indiana, while Marian, Sumter, Morgan, Gates, and Greene drove them from the country sections of North and South Carolina and shut the British army up at Charleston. Cornwallis had left the Southern forces and pursued Lafayette, saying: "The boy cannot escape me," encamping at Yorktown, little dreaming he also was building his own prison. The French fleet approached by sea and Washington by land, and with all supplies cut off, Cornwallis surrendered his entire army. When this news reached Lord North, Prime Minister of England, he threw up his hands and exclaimed: "It is all over," and then resigned his office. In 1782, when Parliament opened, King George III announced the independence of the United States of America, closing his speech with the earnest hope that "Religion, language, interest, and affection might prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries."

Three most notable victories were thus chronicled to the American armies of the Revolution—the defeat of Howe at Boston, the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga, and the capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown. The surrender of the army of General Burgoyne, October 17, 1777, provided the Americans with 42 ordnance and 4,647 muskets besides the ammunition and 5,791 prisoners of war. The march to Boston is thus described: "Poor, dirty, emaciated men, great numbers of women who seemed to be the beasts of burden, having bushel baskets on their backs, by which they were bent double, the contents

seemed to be pots and kettles, various sorts of furniture, children peeping through gridirons and other utensils, the women barefooted and clothed in dirty rags." Meanwhile, General Washington encamped at Morristown. The Commander often participated in the rites of Freemasonry at the Masonic lodge rooms in the Morris Hotel, where the degrees of the order were conferred upon many of his companions. Morristown was the scene of a mutiny, when two thousand Pennsylvania soldiers, having suffered every privation and receiving no pay, claimed their rights to be discharged, and General Clinton sent proposals to pay up all back wages and clothe and feed all refugees. But this rebellion was a democratic movement, and one of the leaders said: "See, comrades, they take us for traitors. The American army can furnish but one Arnold and America has no truer friends than we," and the emissaries were executed as spies. Washington's extreme care of little things is shown when he left his quarters; there was a complete inventory of every article, except that one silver spoon was missing. Not long after Mrs. Ford, the hostess, received one silver spoon marked "G. W.," still preserved as a precious relic in the family.

The greatest suffering of the Continental Army was at Valley Forge, 1777-1778, the men being destitute, barefoot, and starving, living in wood huts in the depth of winter, about 11,000 men, nearly a third unfit for service. As the country had been stripped of all supplies, the need of food almost caused the disbandment of Washington's army.

It is interesting to briefly survey the negotiations for peace which took place between England, France, Spain, Holland, and America. France was friendly to America, but Spain was bitterly hostile to the United States, although an ally of France. Fox, the English Secretary of State, was a Whig, was friendly to America, but had to superintend negotiations with France, Spain, and Holland, while Benjamin Franklin, representing America, said that reconciliation was a sweet word, and acted with great tact, for King George of England opposed the negotiations. England was victorious over France and Spain, but defeated in America. France was bound to Spain by treaty not to make peace until England was driven from Gibraltar, so Vergennes, for France, attempted to persuade England to exchange Gibraltar for Florida. By the Quebec Act of 1774, England had declared the southern boundary of Canada to be the Ohio River. But the backwoodsmen of Virginia had conquered all the territory from Lake Superior to Kentucky from England in 1779, and in December, 1780, had ceded all this region to the Union. Now to regain Gibraltar, Vergennes maintained America should surrender to England all the territory north of the Ohio, and the territory south of the river should be made an Indian territory, for both Vergennes, representing France, and Aranda, representing Spain, were jealous of America. Aranda wrote: "This Federal Republic is born a pygmy. A day will come when it will be a giant, even a colossus, formidable in these countries. Liberty of conscience, the facility for establishing a new population on immense lands,

as well as the advantages of the new government, will draw thither farmers and artisans from all the nations. In a few years we shall watch with grief the tyrannical existence of this same colossus." Franklin, Jay, and Adams, representing the American colonies, thus found that France and Spain would deprive them of the Middle West and also the Newfoundland fishery rights, so Jay opened correspondence direct with England. Lord Shelburne at once perceived the dissension between the allies, and in the negotiations the Colonies were first described by the British Government as the United States of America. Modern diplomacy shows no greater triumph of Yankee ingenuity over European subtlety than the final peace treaty, for being in treaty relation with France to make no separate peace, and having won independence with the aid of France at Yorktown, yet being distrusted and threatened with disintegration by the European alliance of France, Spain, and Holland, the United States representatives, Franklin, Jay, and Adams, gained the Middle West, for England did not insist upon retaining the inland territory, and also acquired the Canadian fishery rights and navigation privileges on terms of full equality. As all nations desired peace, the Treaty of Paris represented for America the most brilliant triumph in diplomacy, and with it was granted the independence of the United States, and the foundation was laid of the Monroe Doctrine, for we left the negotiations strictly free from all foreign entanglements. Spain scolded and threatened, but finally gave up Gibraltar, while England surrendered East Florida, and al-

lowed her to retain West Florida and her other possessions. But our success was partly due to the change of English ministry, for the England of the Revolution was the England of Lord North and George Onslow, in defense of Lord North, said: "Why have we failed so miserably in this war against America if not from the support and countenance given to rebellion in this very house?" and in the House of Commons the Whigs alluded to Washington's army as "our army" and to the American cause as "the cause of liberty." England truly realized her mistake in oppressing a free people. The victories of justice and statesmanship are greater than armies and navies, and the English race on both sides of the Atlantic was now united in its main purpose of humanitarianism and the advancement of civilization.

"Our young wild land, the free, the proud,
Uncrushed by power, unawed by fear.
Her knee to none but God is bowed,
For nature teaches freedom here.

"From gloom and snow to light and flowers,
Expands this heritage of ours.
Life with its myriad hopes, pursuits,
Spreads sails, rears roofs, and gathers fruits.

"But pass to fleeting centuries back;
This land a torpid giant slept.
Wrapped in a mantle thick and black
That o'er its mighty frame had crept."

—STREET.

FEAR GOD AND TAKE YOUR OWN PART

“ We fear God when we do justice to and demand justice for the men within our own borders.”

NO MAN in America has worked more strenuously, fought more gallantly, and talked more fearlessly in the cause of righteousness and truth than Theodore Roosevelt, an aggressive follower up, as his trainer, Sixsmith told us, as he pounded the boys in the boxing contests at Plattsburgh. That Teddy followed up so very aggressively, that he got out of the ring, is almost the only way to express the truth; youth and masculine power are still his own, and his faults and impetuous zeal we will write upon the sands, for he is still our typical American statesman, crude, aggressive, but there with the goods every time. Reach out for great principles but overreach trifles; in his book “Fear God and Take Your Own Part” Roosevelt not only overreached trifles, but he overreached every great principle, and so amazed the powerful machinery of Republicanism that, apprehensively, the royal guard scoured every State in the Union, to find another leader to win the heart of America for Republicanism, and failed. The Nation is still asking whether Roosevelt could have patiently guided us through the tantalizing months of watchful waiting and

preparation for emergencies and the final conflict. Eliminating his hasty strains of radicalism, and looking into the heart of genius, we see the true, passionate, calm patriotism of the author. "We are the citizens of a mighty Republic consecrated to the service of God above, through the service of man on this earth. We are the heirs of a great heritage bequeathed to us by statesmen who saw with the eyes of the seer and the prophet. We must not prove false to the memories of the nation's past. We must not prove false to the fathers from whose loins we sprang, and to their fathers, the stern men who dared gently and risked all things, that freedom should hold aloft an undimmed torch in this wide land. They held their worldly well-being as dust in the balance when weighed against their sense of high duty, their fealty to lofty ideals. Let us show ourselves worthy to be their sons. Let us care, as is right, for the things of the body; but let us show that we care even more for the things of the soul. Stout of heart, and pledged to the valor of righteousness, let us stand four-square to the winds of destiny, from whatever corner of the world they blow. Let us keep untarnished, unstained, the honor of the flag our fathers bore aloft in the teeth of the wildest storm, the flag that shall float above the solid files of a united people, a people sworn to the great cause of liberty and of justice, for themselves, and for all the sons and daughters of men." Contrast to this a passage mild in form, but a two-edged sword to our greatest philanthropists, scholars, and statesmen, who realize that great evolutions of the advancement

of civilization are accomplished by the grinding of centuries, and not by the destructive forces of social upheaval: "Timid and lazy men, men absorbed in money-getting, men absorbed in ease and luxury, and all soft and slothful people naturally hail with delight anybody who will give them high-sounding names behind which to cloak their unwillingness to run risks or to toil and endure. Emotional philanthropists to whom thinking is a distasteful form of mental exercise enthusiastically champion this attitude. The faults of all these men and women are of a highly non-militaristic and unwarlike type; and naturally they feel great satisfaction in condemning misdeeds which are incident to lives that they would themselves be wholly unable to lead without an amount of toil and effort that they are wholly unwilling to undergo. These men and women are delighted to pass resolutions in favor of anything with a lofty name, provided always that no demand is ever made upon them to pay with their bodies to even the smallest degree in order to give effect to these lofty sentiments. It is questionable whether in the long run they do not form a less desirable national type than is formed by the men who are guilty of the downright iniquities of life; for the latter at least have in them elements of strength which, if guided aright, could be used to good purpose."

The man who speaks his mind opens the door to criticism, but better meet controversy than stunt the intellect. Theodore Roosevelt has fearlessly spoken upon and met every social problem in most convincing style, pointing out clearly the paved high-

ways our people must tread to reach the millennium of Democracy: "I believe that our people will make Democracy successful. They can only do so if they show by their actions that they understand the responsibilities that go with democracy. The first and the greatest of these responsibilities is the responsibility of national self-defense. We must be prepared to defend a country governed in accordance with the democratic ideal or else we are guilty of treason to that ideal. To defend the country it is necessary to organize the country in peace, or it cannot be organized in war. A riot of unrestricted individualism in time of peace means impotence for sustained and universal national effort toward a common end in wartime. Neither business man nor wageworker should be permitted to do anything detrimental to the people as a whole; and if they act honestly and efficiently they should in all ways be encouraged. There should be social cohesion. We must devise methods by which, under our democratic government, we shall secure the socialization of industry which autocratic Germany has secured, so that business may be encouraged and yet controlled in the general interest, and the wageworkers guaranteed full justice and their full share of the reward of industry, and yet required to show the corresponding efficiency and public spirit that justify their right to an increased reward."

His articles on Americanism glow with principles which place him without peer in the hearts of the American people, for he first, in this generation, sounded the keynote of Patriotism: "True Ameri-

canism demands that we judge each man on his conduct, that we so judge him in private life, and that we so judge him in public life. The line of cleavage drawn on principle and conduct in public affairs is never in any healthy community identical with the line of cleavage between creed and creed or between class and class. On the contrary, where the community life is healthy, these lines of cleavage almost always run nearly at right angles to one another. It is eminently necessary to all of us that we should have able and honest public officials in the nation, in the city, in the state. If we make a serious and resolute effort to get such officials of the right kind, men who shall not only be honest but shall be able, and shall take the right view of public questions, we will find as a matter of fact that the men we thus choose will be drawn from the professors of every creed and from among men who do not adhere to any creed. Our nation was founded to perpetuate democratic principles. These principles are that each man is to be treated on his worth as a man, without regard to the land from which his forefathers came, and without regard to the creed which he professes. If the United States proves false to these principles of civil and religious liberty, it will have inflicted the greatest blow on the system of free popular government that has ever been inflicted. Here we have had a virgin continent on which to try the experiment of making out of divers race stocks a new nation and of treating all the citizens of that nation in such a fashion as to preserve to them equality of opportunity in industrial, civil, and political life.

Our duty is to secure each man against any injustice by his fellows."

And by these lofty ideals we must now judge this man. Write his virtues upon tablets of bronze, for his strength of character cannot be assailed, nor his sincerity doubted, and he stands to-day still supreme in the hearts of the American people, a peerless leader and statesman, a man of the people and for the people: "Fear God and take your own part! This is another way of saying that a nation must have power and will for self-sacrifice and also power and will for self-protection. There must be both unselfishness and self-expression, each to supplement the other, neither wholly good without the other. The nation must be willing to stand disinterestedly for a lofty ideal and yet must also be able to insist that its own rights be heeded by others. Evil will come if it does not possess the will and the power for unselfish action on behalf of non-utilitarian ideals and also the will and the power for self-mastery, self-control, self-discipline. It must possess those high and stern qualities of soul which will enable it to conquer softness, weakness and timidity, and train itself to subordinate momentary pleasure, momentary profit, momentary safety to the larger future."

ARMAGEDDON

AS FAR back as history reads, the minds of men have recognized and been familiar with the thought of the war of Nations, because this war has always been in progress and for generations yet unborn will continue, not by power, not by might, but through the advancement of the Spirit of Democracy among the nations of the earth. - German culture representing entrenched monarchy, heartless, cruel, cold, crushing physical power, advanced far, until, blinded by self-confidence and military stagnation, the resplendent system of the culture of efficiency was for a moment forgotten, and the madman staked the entire future of his followers upon a supposed master stroke of arms, with the plan to subdue all civilization to the yoke of tyranny. Had Germany studied history, she would have read in the downfall of Napoleon, of Julius Cæsar, of Xerxes, the futility of attempted world-wide subjugation of empires by force of arms, but Germany was impatient of the slow, crumbling process of the grinding forces of colonization and organized monopoly, risked her all, and ingloriously, criminally, and logically failed. No nation can destroy the arts and civilization of another people even by extermination; witness Poland, Ireland, and the Hebrew people, all alive and influential to-day in world-wide growth.

When Germany plunged the world into war she knew she was the only power ready for immediate conflict. No people can prepare for war in less time than a generation, because as the child is trained, so is he, and no transitionary teachings can be imparted after maturity. So Germany had her young men systematically trained to be implements of unbending obedience to power, ready to suffer and endure all for world prestige and dominion. Enormous accumulations of supplies and implements of warfare were hoarded and zealously guarded in her storehouses, her battleships were on every sea, her spies on every shore, her power impregnable, except that those very forces of aggression raised up for their own resistance, powers of progress and civilization, and these great resisting forces, Germany did not see or realize. Thus the Old Roman Empire survived in the Great Alliance of the Central Powers of Europe, ready to pour every ounce of the accumulated wealth of centuries of the crowned effigy of the Cæsars into a conflict to crush independent thought and bind the world to ignorance and error. But behold, Italy, a member of that Triple Alliance, openly declared herself free from the bondage of darkness and inquisition, and broke her bonds of slavery. The home of Cæsar repudiated Cæsar, and struck the first blow for Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. Germany did not see the white-robed statue of Liberty in New York Harbor, the present of a strong, free people calling loud to a people brave and free. Behold again how the deep-seated hope of dissensions vanished, as France, Russia, Great Britain, Roumania, Servia, Japan, and Belgium, con-

solidated their countless forces to stem the tide of monarchy. This world must be made a safe place for democracy; the people are free; bonds are broken, fetters are cut asunder; and the curtains before the temple shrines are again rent in twain, that the great cause of the brotherhood of man may go on. This conflict of barbarism against culture has been in progress through all the centuries, and the present lineup merely calls the hand of the great forces working through every nation. The lessons of blood and steel are but the serpent's trail, which, by the noon-day sun, we mark and seek him in his lair.

Peace cannot come through compromise or evasion, but by every human being acting as a brother of man and sustaining within himself righteousness, purity, love, and real active participation in every art and science of life, that each of us build our house by the side of the road, where the hordes of men pass by, with the purpose in each and every heart to uplift every traveller with renewed strength and sustenance of food, drink, and shelter. As the soldiers on the battlefields lay down their lives for their homeland, so every citizen, without the great incentive of the clash of arms, must dedicate and sacrifice his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor to the cause of humanity. Every person from the earliest infancy must be absorbed in the study of the great human family, ready to assume every responsibility and obligation. We can never measure loss or gain either in wealth, in figures, in visible signs, or in local changes, but the mantle of our charity must be over every land and sea, over every people, race, and condition of men;

nor can we measure or describe its boundless realm except in terms of world service. Remember that even the awful waste and suffering caused by modern warfare is nothing compared with waste by pestilence, earthquake, flood, and scourge, so that our only materialistic repulsion at the slaughter arises from the fact of the cause being in human control, and not from forces free from guidance by the minds of men.

Look again. Through central Europe clashes the hammer and the forge, a hundred millions of people surge and sway in commercial rivalry, as in feverish zeal, the resources of every land are estimated, every individualistic trait is crushed, a huge system grips all men within its iron jaw, and shakes the forces of the universe until earth trembles. Ignorance, superstition, vice, and greed join forces with tyranny, oppression, wealth, and mighty power, to pile up tower upon tower, men upon men, gold upon gold, and sword upon sword, to terrorize, to plunder, to control, to make the earth their footstool, defying international law and all equitable rules of national conduct. The powers of expanding freedom of socialistic brotherhood, of university education and of world-wide commerce, in the coast states of Europe, arouse themselves from lethargy, shake off the bonds of inactivity, and cover every sea with trade and good-will to man. Did any merchantman, plying his course among nations, fail to see the clouds of conflict gather, when by intrigue, and every known method to gain commercial and industrial advantage, by fair or foul means, by conspiracy, and by systematic pressure, the inland powers sought to crush free trade, democracy,

and civilization, by the mailed, clenched fist of military power? For the people stood awed, with bowed heads, before enthroned strength, accepting the inevitable, with a dull sense of a dreadful, unavoidable, irresistible fate, when suddenly in Serbia the little finger of the huge mailed fist was pricked. With crushing intent, mighty Austria, the pawn, the stagnant, helpless victim of the most brutal, barbaristic diplomacy, struck her little helpless serf the blow of death, thinking none would see or heed the crime, and that in the rôles of history, the deed would not be written upon the pages of the lives of nations.

The world resounded with peal upon peal of heavy thunder echoing and vibrating from every shore, while every cloud was riven by lightning's flare, and every way of retreat was closed. Could the haughty prince stoop to apologies to common men? Ask the wolf to comfort the mother of the slain lamb, ask the shark of the sea to have mercy, ask the human shyllock of the money chamber to free his victim. The Great Dead Hand of Monarchy felt Italy slipping from her grasp, her one great hope of an outlet to the Mediterranean, and before Italy could recover from her astonishment at the unlawful occupation of the Balkan State, she must be dragged into the uncompromising dependency of war. But the far-seeing politicians of Italy perceived the jaws of National Destruction wide open, and declared her alliance ended. So failed the first diplomacy of human hate, and chagrined and thirsty for blood and revenge, the dual alliance, closing their bonds with Turkey and Bulgaria, defied the civilized world. "Thou shalt

not covet they neighbor's realm," was not a commandment for Germany, endowed as she believed, with the divine right to rule and control. This is the tangle of the creature of iniquity of the Dark Ages, rising upon the ashes of dead men, with bloodshot eyes and reeking tongue, the dragon of lust, and who will champion the cause of right.

Crazed with a spirit of blind hate, aroused by the war spirit, the madman threw discretion, honor, justice, arbitration, and righteousness to the four winds of heaven, and as the pawn had overwhelmed Serbia, the barbarian giant crushed in one mighty blow beautiful Belgium, dragged her men to tribute, and ravaged her homes to plunder and rob every sacred sanctuary of the vestments of security. No right was there, but blind rage, and mighty England knew the unquenchable fire was at her door, and true as steel to justice and honor, did not hesitate to risk all and make the sacrifice for the sake of humanity. Italy blushed with shame, but the end was not yet. With the crash of timbers and cry of hatred to crucify upon the cross of gold all that is dear to civilization and the brotherhood of man, the *Lusitania* went down at the command of the supreme master, with eleven hundred men, women, and children, the price of the sacrifice of sacred honor. The great heart of the Italian people beat true to their glorious heritage, as Italy unselfishly, not only repudiated her evil companions, but proclaimed herself free from bondage, from slavery, from medieval chains of ignorance, a new Italy, an ally of the nations of the Renaissance of the Twentieth Century, with a full realization of

the terrible vengeance that might be her fate, but with a knowledge that she, too, was offering a sacrifice of her all upon the altar of her soul. No grander act in the war will be read into history than the turning of the Italian people from darkness to light, for the enemy they defied was at their side, with drawn sword, nor could Italy expect that her boundlessly fertile fields could for an instant be free from invasion, for all the horrors of the most terrible vengeance of the cry of hatred toward the deserting ally were hers to do or die in defense of her liberty.

The Gospel of the Central Powers read that might made right, when used to accomplish objectives, right in their own judgment, independent of the necessities and privileges of other men. The Entente Powers and neighboring peoples had been conscious of the absorption of their resources by this new propaganda, steadily undermining the doctrines of civilization, but powerless to resist, to counter-attack, or revive their own power. Had Austria and Germany been able to hold aloof from actual warfare a few more short years, the result would have been very different, but the great master minds of empire were rapidly aging, while their deep-seated conspiracies were known, and the Germans with all their understanding of science, had no understanding of diplomacy, for theirs was the art of crushing men, and not of conciliation. Therefore, the vast armies of the world were interlocked with no hope of the destruction of either, because of the unlimited forces involved. There the worm turned, and Germany was shorn of power in her greater empire, losing her

fleets, her commerce, her colonies, all but her indomitable national will.

The entry of the United States of America into the war of nations on the side of the allies was the crowning triumph of diplomacy, of all the successful work of the best diplomats of modern times, for not only was the power of a nation, by far exceeding all in wealth and resources, added to the allied forces, but this triumph added to their strength a people counted on by Germany as her sure ally. When war was first declared there is little doubt but that if the republics of America had made a choice, that choice would have fallen to the Kaiser through sheer ignorance of the true situation. But now that all the selfish designs of a depraved intolerance of the rights of others are revealed, the moral victory is greater than any victory by force of arms. Well did London and Paris revel in joyful exultation, for they hailed their new comrade in arms as the herald of victory, the balance of power, the prodigal returned home, the world converted to see the justice of their war on behalf of humanity.

The tottering credit became strengthened, the long-suffering moral stamina of the people revived, the available naval power doubled in efficiency, and every enemy bowed in final, unutterable despair, for the cause of the Central Powers was then admittedly lost. Crushed and bleeding from blow upon blow, the retreat which signalled final defeat started yielding mile by mile the occupied territory, the words ringing in their ears "to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peo-

ples, the German peoples included. The world must be made safe for Democracy. We are . . . the sincere friends of the German people." This was the call indeed of humanity to human hearts, to cease strife among men, proclaiming "it is more blessed to suffer than to retaliate; it is more blessed to give than to receive." Here was one belligerent seeking no conquest, no dominion, no indemnity, and no compensation for the national sacrifice, to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war. Without dictating terms of its peace, here they are stated and with the charity of world love for humanity, may the German people, free from the burden of colonies and usurped power, enroll themselves among the friends of universal peace, teaching men right living, efficiency, and world service.

We have seen that the great war was essentially a conflict of central Europe against the commercial nations of the world. In the east the life and death struggle of Turkey and Bulgaria with Serbia and Roumania served to consume vast stores of ammunition and supplies of Germany and Russia, and permitted the final disposal of the territory at the end of the war as belligerents. Here again we find that the autocratic powers had given unlimited credit and furnished supplies to the leading men of Bulgaria, Greece, Roumania, and all the minor powers, realizing that to control a people it is essential to control all the leaders, and then hold the vast populations in unrealized subjection to these leaders.

But the dynastic powers failed where their navies failed, when German commerce was driven from the seas, when German citizens of great world republics refused to betray the confidence of the land of their new birth or adoption, and the vast storehouses of military supplies of central Europe were offset by supplies from North and South America. The world-empire dream of the Hapsburgs was deep laid, but they could not know that the United States of America from the beginning stood ready to crush the head of the serpent under an iron heel of a proud free Republicanism ten times more powerful in its freedom than all the forces of tyranny, deceit, and inhumanity to man. The Hohenzollerns could not know that Russia would shake off the curse of intemperance, and as a mighty Republic forever free her people from serfdom. They could not see the thrones of Greece, Bulgaria, Austria, and Roumania totter and shake, upheld only by the necessity of leaders in the war game. They could not realize the pit of quicksand upon which their Kaiser built his palace, which must crumble to dust before the will of a sovereign people. They did see that Democracy was all pervading in Great Britain, and that there the Royal Purple, all but in name, was in popular control, and they despised and underrated the plebeian power, operating through councils of the representatives of men. In building their great tower of Babylon, mocking justice, fair play, and the rights of humanity, of necessity they failed, and with a crash and confusion of tongues the mighty conspiracy has fallen, and the miracle is that it has fallen so soon, with such

little loss of life, with the destruction confined to such small areas, and every human being, bound and free, rejoices at the triumph of righteousness and world-wide humanitarianism, ushering in the equality and fraternity of nations. In the reorganization of world forces, a partnership for peace can be established and maintained only by concerted authority and action of democratic nations, for no people will by popular vote engage in war, except in the cause of humanity. To a free, liberty-loving nation, only righteousness, fair play, and the protection of her free institutions are more sacred than peace, and civilization no longer is in the balance, but has returned to its own, to the free people of earth, to be cherished and nourished, and its seed of peace on earth and good-will to men scattered to every land, whereby the twentieth century shall open the eyes of every people to the Light of Truth.

The fall of Prussianism reduces the present physical warfare to the former stage of commercial and industrial competition, to control world markets. If the Republic of Poland can successfully be given justice and fair play, a present to the Polish people, that they may cultivate home arts, free from world-empire ambition, one step is concluded. But as the Slavish provinces are free from the yoke of Austria, a new theatre of activity for the land route highway to the East is created, for the opportunities already opened to the view of the peoples of Europe can never be clouded again, but will surely be realized. The German people, with other Central Powers will continue to present the same problem of the Eastern

highway, but because the control of commerce is without their realm, they will peacefully use the arts of science for the culture of their home life. But although the Bosphorus, open to free trade, will uncover vast avenues of produce markets, from east to west and north to south, and create new fields of opportunity, the problems of Europe are not solved by this war, nor can they be, except as all central Europe is an open field for all the world, and all the world a free field for the activities of every people. The great overland commercial highway from Constantinople to the Kiel Canal will be achieved as surely as the Panama Canal was ultimately completed, because of the necessities of men breaking asunder every restraining bond. This may mean a new alliance of inland peoples bordering on the highway, but it will be an alliance not to destroy civilization, but to protect every allied nation against the unfair commercial aggression of its neighbor. Wealth and power have proved the downfall of nations, for as water seeks its level, so the great pulse of humanity destroys all authority not based on the consent of the governed, all commercialism, not based upon equal opportunity for all men to fairly enjoy the pursuit of a livelihood. If we wish to preserve peace, make smooth the rough places, and let no man nor group of men accumulate and control the inalienable rights of heritage, but as far as possible make the individual labor of every man the most marketable and valuable commodity in every part of the globe. Men who secure accumulated wealth must immediately cease active service and exert all their power to

hold their ill-gained capital. So Germany took the toll of France, and in her colonization, she thrived, but in her lust to absorb gold and power, to seize lands and franchises over all the world, she miserably failed. Great Britain has maintained a world empire by being shorn of all power and control, and giving the doctrine of world-wide free trade to humanity. Now must every remaining bondage of men be broken, and not merely must trade be free, but life itself, and every man be a free agent to mould his own destiny. Can men who have power and wealth understand this situation, that no people can safely be held in bondage any more, neither shall their rights of representative government, which is Democracy, be violated? Uneasy has been the head that has worn a crown, but the time is at hand when there will be no crowned heads and the divine right of kings and emperors will pass to their subjects, so that everywhere a man shall be measured only by the standards of manhood. Men hereafter shall take profit only for service rendered, and never directly use the misfortunes of their fellowmen for plunder and exploitation. Can every great nation of this human family reach this plain of idealism? If so, some form of universal peace may be attained. Can we level off the rough places or will we return to the paths of strife of individual against individual, of nation against nation, piling up territory upon territory, franchise upon franchise, control upon control, sovereignty upon sovereignty, until control means slavery, and sovereignty spells tyranny over men? We can never accomplish justice, except as

all who are capable of labor, toil for the common welfare of humanity, and yet business, trade, commerce, and the development of every art and science must go on as generation succeeds generation, and nation succeeds nation. Thus we attain the conclusion of these matters: that racialism, nationalism, and all the forces which array men against their fellowmen, for any cause, must become subjective to a world-wide humanitarianism, to give to every member of the human family an actual right of self-development and livelihood, just because he is a human being, recognized as an individual member of the great world family of men.

A DAY DREAM

ON THE day of the millennium the three controlling powers over men, religious, protective, and industrial agreed that the Spirit of Brotherhood should enter every heart, and each citizen spoke to the other: "We no longer disagree, but your thoughts are my thoughts, and our only competition henceforth shall be in service and well doing." Then arose the preachers from ten thousand little churches and cried: "See, we have no contentions any longer; let us now become teachers of men in patience and humility." Then arose ten thousand soldiers and policemen and said: "See, there is no more strife among men, but each strives to outdo the other in well-doing." Then arose also ten thousand millionaires, politicians, and lawyers, saying: "See, every man does justice to his fellowmen with brotherly love, and there is no more need for systems of compulsion." Every art of man was employed for the welfare of humanity and all men everywhere were of one mind. There was enough and plenty for all, and they declared that day a holiday set apart for the celebration of Universal Peace. Never again did men take profit from the misfortunes of their fellowmen. Ten thousand physicians and surgeons cared for all ails, and hospitals and dispensaries were free. Thousands of miles of boundaries between na-

tions were undefended in those days of peace. Courts and Judges found no cases for their decisions, and busied themselves as lawmakers and statesmen. And even Wall Street closed its doors, for it was agreed that every man should have one hundred cents value for every dollar. Truly those were the happy days when righteousness ran over the nations like a mighty stream, and every church was no longer the forum of argument, but the neighborhood house for social service. Thence turned every lonely pilgrim, and night and day made merry, making joyful noise and song in learning the arts of entertainment and pleasure. All were brothers and sisters together, and never again could vice and greed have attractions greater than those of right living and home pleasure. There arose ten thousand men who were wasteful and extravagant and said: "We will economize that there be enough for all"; and ten thousand ruthless hunters and pleasure-seekers said: "We will not destroy any more, but encourage thrift," and ten thousand idlers and hoboes swore off and diligently used soap and water, saying: "We will allow no man any more to call us bums, but we will make up for lost time." So there was peace and prosperity, and upon earth good-will toward men. The only really useless structures were the prisons, for detectives, government agents, and prosecutors were no longer needed, and as fast as the jails were emptied of prisoners these were torn down and in their stead were erected model apartment houses. And leaders of politics with leaders of business, and leaders of capital with leaders of labor, and agricultural specialists with the banks of

Wall Street, all agreed never to disagree, so that every man was a true patriot.

So many were employed in honest toil that child labor ended and the public schools were used to teach every youth a trade or useful vocation. Then it seemed as if the entire congregation insisted on singing the Doxology and made such a noise that my dream was ended.

YE OLDEN TIMES

IN SPEAKING of times of a century ago history portrays the country family of ten children, all attaining maturity and respectability on the family income of \$500 a year. At six years of age, each schoolboy with his napkin of sandwiches for lunch tramped two miles to the village school of twenty scholars, where all grades were taught by the schoolmaster with switches and dunce caps, seated on slab board benches. The home farm gave sustenance to five cows, fifteen sheep, chickens, geese, ducks, and the sorrel mare, and the farmer and his wife personally laid out and planted the orchards and gardens. Wages were generally paid for in meat, eggs, and produce, the bread was a mixture of rye and meal, and the fuel hard woods from the forest. It was a man's work to supply a family fireplace with wood and a woman's work to spin enough homespun to furnish sufficient winter clothing. There was no baker, no tailor, no piano or piano tuner, and no hairdresser or shoemaker, except possibly some traveler stopped over night from his journey. But frequently all the neighborhood families gathered for mutual assistance and good cheer at sewing bees, stone bees, quilting parties, or to salt down fresh-killed oxen or swine. Like Longfellow's Arcadian Community, the women, single and married, gathered

from far and near, with tea, talk, and stitching, to sew rag carpets and patchwork quilts. In the evening the menfolks joined the festivities and often, after weeks of labor, a day would be set apart for athletic sports, where the young men could contest in wrestling, racing, and chasing the greased pig.

The old-fashioned country living was much better than we realize. We wonder at the capacious attics and cellars of the homestead dwellings. But we would wonder still more to see the cords of firewood and dried corn and hay, the garrets filled with pumpkins, apples, and canned fruits, every rafter hung with boneset, peppers, and sage, and the floors heaped with flax and wool. In the vast basement cellars are stored barrels of vinegar and cider, tubs of butter and eggs, firkins of salted beef, pork, and mutton, and huge bins of potatoes, turnips, and cabbages, not to mention maple syrup and family medicines. Crying babies, as well as weak-stomached men, were silenced with hot toddy, medicine brandies, soothing syrups, and tansey bitters, but cider, hard and sweet, was the universal beverage. Everywhere were signs of thrift, piety, and economy, and many lived to ripe old age, to tell the stories of long ago to their great grandchildren. So living was not so bad after all.

Neither was the social life absolutely dull by any means. The village tavern drew large crowds of story tellers, and frequently the tavern balls were attended by deacons and ministers, who mingled in the society of the people. Matches between rival drummers, with music by cornets, jewsharps, bagpipes,

and the violin, set the pace for dances. Everybody attended a wedding as a public entertainment, and celebrated the event with plays and horse fiddles, made by rasping planks over gum-rosined packing boxes. Likewise funerals brought great crowds even to the graves, and the village church choir rehearsals were affairs of youthful merriment. The intercourse of all classes was friendly and the winter days pleasant with parties for hunting, sleighing, skating, and rustic sports.

Now, then, ye modern city dwellers, spurring on the endless confusion of civilization with your complicated progress, stop a minute, and think of fertile fields, snow-white plains, and country landscapes, and compare them with the huge marble halls of city palaces. In the rapid advance of industrial functions, have democracy and liberty stood triumphant, working out the good of all men? Country people need not be envious of the intense life of our cities, and our urban population retains the hope, at least partially, to give to their children some knowledge of rustic enjoyments and employments of simple country life and habits. The homely things of nature are not wholly transcended by the glitter and show of imitation, and the intense civilization of older nations repeatedly returns men to the old-fashioned life of natural living upon the farmland and country estate.

PACIFICISM

FAIN'T heart ne'er won fair lady" is as true in war as in love, where all is fair; and competition is war, for there are as many varieties of warfare as of combustion, and in fact rust and decay may be more destructive than fire. The conquest of strong aggressive manhood over the elements, over the beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, and over all lesser man is constantly apparent, as civilization advances; and woe to the weak, the undefended and the helpless, for unguarded wealth has ever been the lawful prey of nations as well as of individuals. There is no retreat from progress, no right to stand still, no opportunity for a nation in safety to retire from active business, and ask to be let alone to enjoy peace and prosperity, while in other lands men toil and suffer calamity and serfdom. Men say: "Peace, peace," but there is no peace, for fire must be fought with water and fire, and whereas no effective method to avoid fire has been found, so no means to avoid warfare can be depended upon for protection; no treaties are in the final analysis so binding, as to secure permanent safety. Arguments are good to gain time: Peace at any price is a word of terror, which spells ruin, decay, and sure destruction. The umpire must always be a powerful man backed by personal strength, for fair decisions will never save

him from attacks arising from the heated passions of contending combatants. This is a principle of vital importance to individuals and to nations, that he who would eat must work, and he who would live must fight the grand conflict for the survival of the fittest.

Success and enjoyment of the fruits of labor alone are sufficient to arouse envy and hatred in the hearts of covetous men, and the utmost righteousness of mind will never protect against the immutable greed of human nature; be merciful, be just; be loving, be kind; be happy, be a toiler, a planner, a genius; but above all be healthy, be strong; be organized and be prepared. No member of a democracy believes in war, believes in the power of might and armed force, nor believes in wronging because we are strong. So no truehearted strong man will use his strength to attack the weak, but he will have many an opportunity to defend the weak, and use his strength for righteousness and justice. We cannot all say we will not fight, but will hire our protectors and pay them. Then where shall we draw the line? It is wrong to fight in an unjust cause, but the man who cannot or will not fight in a just cause is like the man who will not work, a burden upon his fellow men. This is not a call to conflict, but a call to active service by thought, word, and deed. Some fight by scheming, some by writing, some by inventions and some by brute force. When Erickson invented the turreted monitor he was a fighter, his mind and soul were active to genius. The first steamship, the first aeroplane, the first submarine, were all invented by fighters, men alive to the conflict be-

tween men and men, who realized that life is real, life is earnest, and we valiantly strive to valiantly live. To make a healthy people, let every man strive to maintain his own individual health and that of his family. To make a successful people, let every man struggle for success. To make a strong, sturdy, self-reliant, efficient people, let every man strive to be strong, sturdy, self-reliant, and efficient. Laws, rules, regulations, and theories never accomplish anything unless acted upon; likewise kind words, thoughts of inspiration, and dreams of power avail nothing unless expressed in active lives of living men.

Patriotism is to a nation what ambition is to an individual. It spurs the citizens to national progress, righteousness, and honorable justice. True ambition is to do right though the heavens fall, and warfare is too often the only means of defense for truth and fair play. We can never with safety evade the truth and deceive ourselves in fancied security. When a fire starts, the utmost celerity and powerfully applied force is necessary to subdue it in its earliest stages, that it may not spread. Destruction is an unpleasant duty, even of evil things, but the constant war of good against evil, of cleanliness against filth, of health against disease, of man against destructive rodents, insects, and bacteria must go on, or forces of destruction will spread and soon prevail. So courageous men will live; courage, foresight, and thrift will struggle on; and he who can and does endure hardships and toil will wear the crown. The man who refuses to perform every disagreeable duty,

the woman who shirks every responsibility, the child whose education does not include a working, practical experience, preparing for active participation in human affairs, are menaces to society to stir up future envy, strife, and dissatisfaction. They will be idle hands, and idle hands as idle tongues in their unceasing activity, are always alike full of evil. Peace is not necessarily good, no more than stagnation is perfection. The cause of righteousness must be upheld, for what kind of a mother would it be, who in motherly kindness would suffer her child to be injured or wronged before her eyes, and not spring with avenging hands upon the tormentor. We may stand insults against ourselves alone, if we desire, but no individual or nation has a moral right to be so weak as to be unable to protect against wrongs against others, or protesting, to be unable to back up the protest by force of arms. Discretion is the better part of valor, but every individual needs courage with caution and strength with bravery.

We are dealing with facts not theories, with the struggle for life in a finite world, where laws are violated, theft is committed, murder is perpetrated, and war often becomes an unreasonable, uncontrollable reality between nations, just as feuds arise between individuals. A stitch in time saves nine, and the forces of peace are needed not to start war, but to meet or quench it. Great statesmen have a sixth sense, which enables them to interpret signs, to predict events, to forecast conclusions, and in cool calculation the true leader sees the future and warns the people of danger. But no man is safe who is

unhealthy, who is unable to work, who has no ambition for himself and members of his family. And if he be married, his affairs are not in satisfactory shape unless his wife is in active sympathy with all his ideas, his aims, and his purposes in life, so that they mutually sacrifice and pull together. So no nation is secure unless all citizens, filled with patriotic fervor, stand ready to back up their leaders to a man and fight as a compact organized force for national ideals. For a powerful victorious man to show mercy is the privilege of valor, but for a weak person to dodge the duty of the struggle of right against wrong is the humiliation of unpreparedness and cowardice. The wise man seeth the danger afar off and makes his preparation for protection.

But preparation for aggression is just as necessary. As Abraham Lincoln said: "Stand with anybody that stands right." There will naturally arise an alliance among the righteous, in the same manner as an alliance arises among all unrighteous forces. It is difficult to judge between right and wrong, and therefore delay may be advisable to arrive at a just decision, as to where righteousness is, as between contending forces. But in the long run the nation or individual whose purposes are evil will resort to evil methods to further unfair objectives, which will at once betray the hidden blackness. There can be no peace where wrong thrives, no permanent lasting security where wrong is triumphant, so it is foolish to consider any sacrifice of honor to gain a respite or to try pacification, for pacification means submission to some form of slavery, such as may be designed by

evil to hold the good in subjection. Whenever war comes, following competition and commercial antagonism, war must go on, until some decisive victory lulls the nations to a permanent or temporary relapse from active warfare, back to the more effective but slower methods of educating every man, woman, and child to efficiency, strength, and co-operative action. Here the best trained people win and assume leadership, for temporary leadership among nations is the sole reward of warfare, the flowery crown of roses with thorns of envy, hatred, and insubordination. Every nation as every citizen, should have complete equality, and share equally all the duties and burdens of civilization so that men learn to spend their lives in production and never revert to the barbarian instincts of destruction and retaliation. Can we ever reach such a peace of equality before international law, that all the world unite to inflict punishment upon every transgressor against reasonable authority? Can we free society from the crimes of theft, of murder, of covetousness and of evil in high places? Never yet has any society succeeded even temporarily, so even as the poor are always with us, we must be prepared to defend righteousness and justice as an incentive to constantly maintain individual strength, valor, and efficiency.

War is not of itself wrong for the history of every evolution of progress and civilization is told in annals of war. Duty demands action of men, and death is simply inactivity and inactivity is death. Pacificism will never cure any evils at home or abroad, for all evil-minded men wish others to be simply pacifists,

so that they can be let alone to profit by their evil doing. It is better to pay all politicians double wages, than to have investigations of graft and pork barrel legislation, which operates as the man who closed the stable door after the horse was stolen, seeks to prevent the wrong after the evil is consummated, and makes wisdom in evading law a virtue. We find the Government paying huge advertising expenses to get bids at proposed lowest prices, and then the bids manipulated to accept the highest bidder; whereas no sane business firm ever uses such a policy, as the names of manufacturers and supply houses are easily ascertained, and fair bids obtainable upon request. Patriotism can hardly exist in the mind of a man who deliberately makes double profit out of Government contracts, yet this is proved a too common occurrence in America, because of the over supply of politicians, who in one year must earn enough to live ten. The great weakness of our Democracy is the tendency of educated men to seek employment as lawyers, money-lenders, and operation promoters, being unwilling to do any real work, but rather hindering all progress, and taking profit from every business failure, from every crime, and from every misfortune of their fellow men. What counts is active service and hard meritorious work, and our lawyers should be few in number, but high in personal qualifications of knowledge and wisdom in the dealings of men. In case of crime, it is an objective to avoid the repetition of crime; in bankruptcy it is an objective to avoid business failures; and in war it is an objective to perpetuate peace.

Before war is declared, Pacificism is a principle open to argument in the deliberations over the prospective national policy. Public spirited men, criticized for expressing their convictions against aggressive action, may be most unjustly condemned, for America is a land of freedom of opinion, and the welfare of Democracy requires the public utterance of convictions, carefully thought out, and if weighed in the balance and found wanting, then submit to authority. But when the national policy is determined in favor of warfare, then there is no longer room for argument; honor must be maintained, life and property protected, and righteous warfare relentlessly waged, to stamp out wrong and protect humanity against injustice in every form. By war a nation is tried; the dross is consumed by fire and the gold refined. The nation learns organization and unity and the idle unreasonable members of society are driven to activity and sympathetic cooperation with their fellow citizens. Men learn as they meet men, that fundamentally all human beings, under like training and circumstances, reach the same conclusions, so that men must be judged as men, regardless of these so-called convictions, which depend upon the creed of the fathers or the circumstances of parental training. Successful Democracy depends upon an absolute similarity of national beliefs, customs, and ideals, together with the highest possible form of universal military and commercial training for all citizens and a common language and literature for all the people. Every deviation from an absolute unity of national ideals is dangerous to

Democracy, no matter how small a proportion of the population is affected. To this end individualism must be subservient to nationalism, family life and home morals should be encouraged and protected, and the high school education of our young men and women directed toward economy and thrift and away from excitement and luxurious ease. When a great nation bends its unlimited resources toward accomplishing an object, and the people with businesslike energy get to work, the task is easy; but when citizens shirk their duty, leave hard work to others, and seek only pleasure and the accumulation of wealth, great national projects are laid aside and mines of wealth and opportunity are untouched.

Only by commerce can nations rise to supremacy, and that the future will realize a combination of all commercial nations to guard and make safe every ocean highway, is an irresistible conclusion. World commerce can never be suspended for the convenience of nations desiring to fly at each others' throats in a titanic death grapple, and world-wide Democracy will usher in universal peace. Pacificism is a new term which does not apply to war, but when war is no more it will apply to peace, not peace at any price, nor peace with inactivity and decadence, but peace with fair and square democratic equality and good-will of all men toward and with all their fellow men. In the face of a thousand submarines with well provisioned bases of supplies, it seems that no nation could even remotely hope to successfully invade or even attack a land across the sea, so that submarines should be an actual solution of war

problems, making the probable destruction so great that some plan of universal peace must be evolved, so that all nations be free from the terror of international strife.

It is a mistake for a state or nation to pass or keep laws on the statute books with no intention of compelling obedience, but the spirit of the people should be educated to right living, so that no laws shall apply to only a part of the population. So nations should not make treaties by way of compromise, with no intention of carrying out the provisions, as politicians often make laws with loop holes to permit evasion. Patriotism demands the sacrifice of all individualism for nationalism, and our generation of peace-loving, conflict-refusing, charity toward all declaring, American citizens, now has registered ten million sons to military service and dedicated its daughters to the Red Cross. We have always regarded America as immune from attack, and a death duel between the forces of monarchy and democracy never occurred to our mind, and even in the midst of the fray, America could not believe true the reports of terrorization of peaceable citizens by bombs from dirigibles and the destruction of neutral vessels with women and children, carried on as a national policy of enmity against the Spirit of Democratic Liberty. But now in deadly earnest every unit of the American army, navy, and productive power is actually engaged and actively employed in the conflict of nations, fighting in the common cause, and where the Stars and Stripes fly, there can be no serfdom and no slavery. There is nothing half-hearted or hesitat-

ingly ambiguous about the new offensive warfare of America. The combined forces of barbarism and feudalism are making a last tremendous feeble effort to outrage the equality of man and the fraternalism of humanitarianism, and as chaff before the wind the evil forces are being mowed down and driven to the last stand.

America, tuned to peace and brotherhood, avoided war, until war was being actually waged against all that our liberty loving forefathers shed their blood to establish, that free institutions be the birthright and heritage of the American people. The world looks to America to fight and win, and American ingenuity, braun, and all the strength of the new Western civilization will solve the problem of fratricidal warfare, be a terrible foe, but a merciful conqueror.

Democracy organized will be the watchword for the next generation. A story is told of a Southern planter who was an expert whip snapper, and as he drove his team along the road, he first snapped a fly off one ear of his horse, and then off the other. An old negro at his side pointed to a hornets' nest near the roadside saying: "Boss let's see you snap a bee out of that hornets' nest." "Nothing doing, that's an organization," was the reply. And so the Democracy of America now shakes hands with every Democratic liberty-loving people of the world, and lays her wealth, her youth, her all, on the altar of sacrifice, that free institutions shall not perish but rather shall encompass the earth with liberty and blessings for all mankind. America stands firmly for

the right, and participates in the war, as a sacred trust, to make the whole world not only safe for Democracy but imbued with every principle of Liberty and Freedom. No people upon earth, no matter how down trodden or oppressed, can refuse the call to fraternalism, and here America has dedicated herself and her all to the installation of the principles of the brotherhood of man upon every hearthstone throughout the world, to make men see their duty clear, that strife, contention, and fratricide forever cease, and men everywhere strive only to raise the fallen, to educate the ignorant, to free all nations from vice and pestilence, and usher in an era of Peace on Earth and Good-Will to Men.

It is really a miracle that these United States have passed nearly a century and a half of national life in comparative security. Never have we allowed to our government any real power to organize our national policy, build highways, and harbors, or develop commerce and transportation. In a certain sense, it may have been our safety, for in abandoning all international commerce, we paid a very high tribute to all freight and passenger carrying steamship lines of foreign nations, so that these foreign nations were satisfied with our bounty. Now we are supplying our government with countless funds with which these United States will be equipped with an army and navy which will be able to meet any foe, in addition to being seasoned in service. Our progressive Democracy is putting on a protective coat of mail, which will be of even more value to us in the future than in the present. It is in reality

not safe for any nation to be unarmed and off guard, and men capable of doing their full duty in time of war are likewise capable of fulfilling the obligations of citizenship best in time of peace. Likewise no nation is safe which has not within its own borders adequate means of complete self-sustenance and self-defense. This is not a matter of hostility toward other powers, nor an act showing lack of confidence in our international relationships, but simply a sane act of ordinary precaution, to have the best army and navy, just as the modern city wants the best modern fire-fighting apparatus. We cannot depend upon treaties nor upon disarmament, if such a thing should ever be seriously contemplated, but simply and solely upon our own efficiency and prowess.

America must sacrifice ease, luxury, waste, and sports, and learn economy, efficiency, duty, and service. Our Democracy in the past has through chance escaped a trial by fire, but now we see the terrible calamity we have narrowly avoided by our oversight of preparedness for war, and we will not turn back from this objective to make our nation a well-defended organized democratic unit, but rather we shall hold our own and build up such a reputation for stalwart efficiency that none can forecast the failure of a democratic rule. We will cultivate Kaiserism without the Kaiser, where the authority controlling every industry and registered citizen, with an iron hand, shall proceed direct from the people, yet be as solid, stable, and unyielding, as the rock of Gibraltar. Democracy will never again be so foolish and unresponsive to the advice of her great men, as not to pre-

pare fully for possible warfare. No nation can continue at the pace we have set for ourselves, where so large a proportion of our population is unproductive. The Public School System is at its highest efficiency for handling men and is the reasonable foundation for military training and practical business and commercial education. No intelligent man will deny the danger of letting our navy strength lessen and decay, and our individual capacity for hard work and labor remain at a minimum. Times of peace are continually fraught with dangers, and America must now physically prepare herself for men's duties, and for women's duties, and get back to earth. Hercules fought a giant who became seven times more powerful every time he fell to the ground, and that is what America needs, we must fall back to the ground, to become a self-supporting, self-defended people, able to fight for the right and defend against wrong.

The only possible principle in application, is for every American citizen, if capable, to be a soldier, on guard at all times, to discover and thwart the evil designs of every enemy. To classify all citizens by ages will accomplish even greater results in efficiency, by enabling the Government to directly attend to every need of every citizen. We are not training our young men and young women for war, but for a spirited active peace, to prove to the world that Democracy can acquire all the good efficiency of the single purpose of monarchy, without any of the attendant evils. But there is no use in talking about reform and industry without going to work, and that is the real national objective. Nations seeking huge

indemnities will naturally attack weak and wealthy lands as easy prey, but no criminal will ever attack a man if he knows he is awake and has a gun. The old adage of speaking softly but carrying a big stick will often calm down even a bulldog; and with the soft words which turn away wrath, work efficiency, organize systematically, toil effectively and continually, until we have our harbors deepened, our streams providing light, heat, and power, and our ships in every port and upon every sea.

Our Monroe Doctrine we all realize we must be in a position to jealously guard for any infringement thereof is fraught with the greatest peril to our future prosperity. We stand as the natural protector and ally of every Republic both of North and South America, and of Democracy everywhere, and our only rivalry and contention must be in beneficial service to extend Democratic equality to all mankind. There is no middle road; if we are to preserve democratic principles, we must fight for them; go forward and spread them far and wide as far as man is found. What America needs is a grand soul-shaking, reality-realizing conversion of all citizens to such a type of pure patriotism as will make every citizen determine to work overtime, and encourage every member of his family to work and save, and then devote all the savings toward the purchase of Liberty Bonds. The opportunity of these United States is at hand and people must respond. Those who have never worked must now share in patriotic labor, and where we fight for the right, it is up to us never to shirk, never to back down, never to falter, and never to fail.

Peace can never be permanently purchased at the price of national honor, and the national honor of every civilized nation is at stake. But Truth and Righteousness are marching on and will never be turned back. Every stronghold taken is well entrenched and valiantly held, and men are being made free. The American Democracy of the future will be far superior and far more effectively powerful than any nation the world has ever known, but we have not yet measured its power, nor can we even remotely trace any limitations to the influence of the American people for the spread of righteousness to every land and realm.

World peace is a beautiful thing and undoubtedly will be the theme of ages, but organization and efficiency are required to gain respect and recognition in peace as in war, just as the man who has wealth, influence, and knowledge gets the high place and recognition in a business deal, while the inactive, subservient useless man, even though he have wealth, is thrust aside. We must reform corruption in American politics by teaching Patriotism, and reform physical feeble impotence by teaching productive capacity. Then we will be able to prove that Democracy is self-supporting and capable of guiding its own ship of state. Now that Our Republic has become a man, we must put away childish things and think seriously of all the problems confronting the nations of the world. We cannot live to ourselves alone; we have the duties of a nation before us, to spend and be spent, to wrestle with every question of state, to make ourselves strong in

the present and stronger in the future, and to avoid all that is evil and cleave to that which is good. As with men, so with nations, the greatest life privilege is to cultivate and lay deep the bonds of friendship and good-will, and it is better to give than to receive. In fact, by being liberal, men and nations gain most; the niggard loses what is most dear, his self-respect, and what is most regrettable of all, he seldom realizes his loss until it is too late to mend. Now is the time to form deep and lasting friendships among nations, to co-ordinate our own policies, and root out all discrimination and jealousy, not only between Americans with Americans, but internationally between nations. Friendship with far Eastern peoples is especially easy to cultivate. A gift of a Statue of Liberty at Petrograd, a Temple dedicated to international commercial information at Tokyo, and Monuments to Our Common Ideals at Paris and London will cement bonds of friendship, and prove that the aim of America is to benefit all races and to exploit none. Let us know and understand all that is of good report and worthy of our investigation in these neighbors of ours and let them know our best, that each may become better acquainted with the other to the mutual advantage of all.

Deeds earn respect, not words, and there is plenty of work to be done. Indeed, Pacificism spells work now, in which every American man, woman, and child must heartily join. Realize that the leaders of America have planned far ahead, with the utmost foresight and wisdom, looking forward to make preparation for the future of America, as well as the im-

mediate present. We may well be proud of the privilege of being units in this great organized American generation, which is accomplishing so much, and re-dedicating the nation to the highest ideals and purposes of international life. There is no blind chance behind every move, but a far-seeing Providence shapes our ends, rough hewn though they be. America awakened to her glorious heritage stands at the threshold of a new era. We must fight to win the crown, we must struggle and toil with tenacity of purpose and terrible courage, and through the tribulations of war, attain the victory of Peace. Our sword of Defense is raised in a righteous cause and our shield reflects Truth; and the ultimate aim in all the world carnage is the brotherhood of man and his resurrection to equality and fraternity, so that nation shall not rise up against nation any more.

The United States of America no longer stands alone; and among nations striving for common ideals, as with individuals, in union there is strength. The good-will which necessarily follows an alliance of mutual interest, to make the world better and safer, we must preserve, yet the favored policy of keeping free from every foreign entanglement is the road of safety. No matter how great in physical power a nation may become, nothing can be gained by carrying a chip on the shoulder, but rather uphold our reputation, that we will enter no conflict except in the cause of defending righteous ideals and the rights of man. This union of nations for all that makes for good, will endure, and entail countless blessings upon the peoples of earth. Civilization is marching on

and the clouds have a silver lining, for the sun of Hope shines behind the black clouds of conflict. The Flag of America flies over a united and organized people to-day, a people awakened to the great purpose of their national existence, a people dedicated to Liberty and Justice; and the great bleeding heart of humanity listens anew to reassuring strains of its sweetest music, that in friendly and universal equality and freedom, shall be granted to every man of every land, all the privileges and duties of Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness.

THE STATUE OF LIBERTY

IF WE look for the most prominent emblem of Democracy, we can scarcely fail to comment upon the Statue of Liberty on Bedloe's Island in New York Harbor. The figure measures more than one hundred and fifty-one feet in height to the extremity of the torch, which is three hundred and five feet and eleven inches above tide level. This colossal bronze work of art, the masterpiece of Frederic Bartholdi, a French sculptor, is the loftiest statue in the world. The gift was made by the French people to the People of the United States, to commemorate the One Hundredth Anniversary of American Independence. No greater individual or national act to further the cause of free institutions, is recorded in the world's history, than this noble deed of the French people. Liberty is a misused word, but as the Statute of Liberty stands for the French conception of right Government, as stated in the phrase "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," Liberty is properly expressed as the guardian of the welfare of the people, rendering to all justice and equal recognition before every legal tribunal. The Constitution of the United States is an instrument defining the liberties of the people and the basic rules of government. But as all spring alike from the established freedom of the sovereign people,

both are actually the essential components of the Liberty of America.

It is a mistake to think of things as they ought to be and idealize Liberty. Rather think in terms of things as they are and as they have been, remembering that the history of the struggle for Liberty is a history of the search for truth by living human beings. The Truth which we seek is relative to man and not an ulterior existence, wherefore idealistic theories have been the most potent forces in misleading men, actually turning their ways divergent from the paths of the truth they seek. We say the waves of the ocean are free in idealistic poetry, but in fact we find their origin and every move explainable under immutable laws, which place them under a strict control and obedience to the highest forces of nature. We reach this conclusion because we study the waves of the sea as they are and as they have been, relative to natural forces.

In political life, we must detach simple facts from all illusions, delusions, theories, representations, agitations, eccentricities, and prejudices, in order to correctly give a decision in such terms that our good judgment will present Liberty as the great protector of all that is vitally of value to man. We can hardly disqualify a statesman because of wealth any more than because of poverty, for the aim of Liberty is to protect property rights, as well as individual rights, and as a workman is worthy of his hire, every expense, commensurate with the highest service possible to be rendered, should be provided in advance for every need. But there is a certain sense in which every qualification for statesmanship service, just as for

business leadership, should be taken into account, to have business men to represent business interests, and learned men to represent the people, which learning is not necessarily merely academic in character. The most valuable learning is an understanding of human nature and a knowledge of men. There is nothing more misleading to men and women than the so-called romance of life, the false impressions of the elegant and the unreal. From the effects of romantic education, many of our most highly educated people never recover, because their minds are so impregnated with theories, that they are forever unable to view men and women as human beings. Poetry, art, and philosophy are not underestimated as academic studies of the highest value, but investigations and research must be only of actual facts, from which alone dependable conclusions may be drawn. This is common sense; this is law; and this is the true expression of Liberty.

The Liberty of a people does not depend on blood kinship or relationships of ideals, but exists in political representation; and representation excludes discrimination and distrust. England is English, only in name or in symbolic terms, for as a matter of fact the British Empire includes representatives of every race, the Gaelic people in Ireland, the French in Canada, the Dutch in South Africa, Egyptians, East Indians, Africans, Asiatics, and Europeans, all united into one great industrial protectory régime, upon which the sun never sets, bound together by ties of mutual interest for beneficial protection. When a German business house opened trade in a far off

clime, it was not the individual, but the long arm of the home power under its system of control and aid, so that privileges of organization do not infringe upon Liberty. True Liberty emphasizes the satisfaction and the highest perfection of all men everywhere. It would be better to pay doctors for keeping all the people well, for the present service puts a premium upon sickness, since physicians receive no pay except as people become sick. To study the personal needs of every citizen, to preserve his health and usefulness to society, does not infringe upon liberty, for there is no liberty to destroy but to conserve service. We speak of a watch as out of order, when the minutest wheel needs attention, for every wheel is part of the machinery. So every citizen is part of the commonwealth, and when mentally, morally, or physically broken or deficient, it is in reality the commonwealth that is out of order. It may not be easy to mend the broken wheel or to solve the problem of the disorderly citizen, but to have a perfect machine the facts must be faced, and practical remedies applied. Theories are of no more value to the state than to the watch, and no system of ideals or doctrines will cure either.

Common sense is the proper judgment of the relation of facts, dependant upon the existence of facts as they are. Simplicity is invariably a companion of the sensible man, who deduces the effects from the cause, and discerns where correction is necessary to remedy every trouble. It is easy to find fault, to criticize, to explain and to theorize, but practical common sense, combined with some understanding of the situation and good hard work, are the real

essentials of accomplishments, and none of these are fundamentally antagonistic to true Liberty. Governments incur liabilities and difficulties, just as individuals, by attempting too much. The more governments directly concern themselves with ideals, with theories, and with foreign expansions, the more difficult it is for representative statesmen to agree upon expediency and necessity. But affairs concerning legislation, taxation, and defensive and offensive operations and relationships are, however, true governmental prerogatives, for rights must be guarded and powers and relationships defined. Liberty is not encroached upon by representative government seeking to educate its people, provided the aim of all education is to attain a true and proper conception and perception of all facts relating to the affairs of men, and to offer such training and instruction as will tend to mould the life of the recipient to properly perform every duty of life, equally as an individual and as a member of the state or nation.

The less a government rules by force, the more successful it is judged to be. Although all government in the final analysis must rest upon force, force is a sign of physical unrest and an antagonism of Liberty. Debates upon public problems are good when confined to the instruction derivable from a true statement of circumstances, but when debates are based upon conclusions and dogmas, popular discussion may increase discontent. It is by disregarding eccentricities and sticking to facts, that we reach advantageous results. Patience, perseverance, and straight-forward, honest purpose to do and be

right, are the proper qualifications for a leader of men, and all these essentials make for true liberty, as a derivative of the representative capacity.

“Equality and Fraternity” are the latter terms of the French expression of idealism. Liberty, as many have used the expression, means that every man must look out for himself and gain his personal rights, as the English Common Law implied, in the expression “Caveat Emptor.” But Equality and Fraternity add an entirely different side to the relationship of the individual to government and vice-versa, which the French people were first to paraphrase. The safety of the community from injustice to individuals is far more important than the mere individual freedom of action of any individual, no matter how prominent a place he may hold. The measure of equality and fraternity to every citizen, regardless of his personal impressions and beliefs, is the true foundation upon which all Liberty must rest in a successful Democracy. It is not possible to give personal attention to every complaint and idiosyncrasy of every person who wishes to be heard, but it is possible to use the strong arm of government as a power to render to every man the richest opportunities to develop his talents in a republic. We can never plead “Liberty” as a pretence for non-enforcement of law. We must declare that the essential foundation of Liberty is the definition of all rights of men in their relationships to each other, that all mankind shall see the necessity of Equality in all dealings before the Law, and Fraternity in all dealings with men.

MODERN JUSTICE

THE difference between organization politics and machinery politics is about as broad as that between monopolies and corporations. Corporations are organizations for business, while monopolies are combinations to crush competition and to profit by the restraint of trade, raising the wholesale and retail prices of commodities by controlling the distribution of produce. But we say the object of trade is to make profits and the dividing line cannot be justly drawn. That is true, and just as we place restraints upon loans, and declare the legal rate of interest is a fair profit, and beyond that all is usury, the way to restrain profits of railroads and corporations is by a law restricting dividends to some reasonable legal rate to the stock subscribers. Imagine the confusion if we put up to the courts every loan to declare whether or not it was reasonable. That is the way we are dealing with corporations. The highest plane of national service is statesmanship in every nation, and our most talented men must come forward and take the helm of state as an honest vocation. The independent voter counts to-day, and the time when popular opinion can be trodden under foot with impunity is past. Political organization is a necessary force coincident with political representation, but there is one power of control

above all others, and that is the Constitution of our republic, the bulwark of our free institutions. Our Constitution is our citadel of refuge against popular upheaval, our "Ark of the Covenant" to divide the waters of confusion. The purpose of law is to advance and increase industry and commerce, and to keep all American citizens thrifty and industrious. We must never abandon America to policies destructive of industrial efficiency, and we are not yet ready for, nor is there any reason for considering, government ownership of all interstate business. While we may, let us in the words of our President: "Establish justice, not only, but justice with a heart in it, justice with a pulse in it, justice with sympathy in it."

It was a wise judge who declared that if one wishes to discover who manipulates a blind deal, he has only to trace back where the money returns lead: along paths of golden frenzied finance, to the designers and leaders of thought and action. Not that such investigation leads to criminals and criminal practice by any means, and our American people have trodden far too far the ways of calling every man a thief and a grafter who seeks public office. Every office-seeker cannot receive a job, but the necessity is apparent of keeping the waiting line industrious, yet ready at any vacancy to move a step forward. Politicians should be especially educated from early youth for statesmanship positions, so as not to rob the trades of leading men, for even our naturalized citizens are deserting profitable avenues of business and trade for chance honors, too often with the false idea that reports of fabulous graft are true. As a

matter of fact our wealthy citizens arose, almost without exception, from avenues of industry and commerce, whereas every great city abounds in thousands of hopelessly stranded petty political bosses, who will never have a dollar they can truly call their own.

Now to analyze a great party machine is like an investigation of trade unionism. The real loyalty is not in believing what the party is reputed to stand for, or what the leaders say it stands for, by any means, for we must not forget we are dealing with men, in terms of men, managing men (and in suffrage states, attempting to manage women, which is a very difficult proposition and only remotely possible under present conditions) and men are not organized to work for ideals unless these ideals coincide with and assist in the development and success of political projects. True party loyalty then is not primarily to follow party schools of political science, but for the rank and file to blindly follow the next higher political boss, who in turn follows his leader, and so form an organized army of voters, with a singleness of purpose, organized in theory for ideals, but in actual practice for the advancement of the members of the organization in turn, or to special appointments as they acquire specific qualifications, to render them valuable in certain offices. We Americans have looked at stars of idealism so long, through telescopes of imaginatory patriotism, that we have lost the intuitive injective that the world and all its intricate mazes were made for man, and not man for the mazes. The political machine therefore is right and proper to organize men for the welfare of men, and

not merely abstractly work for ideals, which are often illusionary, impractical, and foolish, no matter how pretty they appear in print, when glossed over by the proper golden hue of literary expression.

I do not wish to be misunderstood, lest some may say I mean there is no idealism in political machinery, for no such meaning is admitted or even implied. Politics is idealism in practice, and we have only to listen to the politician explaining himself, and justifying his actions to his friends, to appreciate the subtle weave of individual consideration with public welfare, and his self-abnegation and willingness to sacrifice everything for party friends and principles, and strongest of all, to notice how opposing politicians will invariably agree on all fundamental principles, and declare themselves and their followers patriotic and public spirited, and endowed with the same lofty purposes to advance public welfare as their opponents, only in a more violent form. Then when the election is over they retire to get their breath and recuperate strength and resources for the next campaign. The college student takes a textbook, underlines most everything for emphasis and then sells it at half price to his successor, who in turn double underlines everything not underlined by his predecessor. But the goods and the arguments do not change, only the emphasis changes. Politics is argued the same way, only those not familiar with organizations gain the impression that a sort of Heaven upon earth proposition is a possibility when dealing with finite men, whereas if we could even reach an earth upon earth proposition, on the level, and keep a great

majority of our citizens contentedly employed at fair living wages, we could well brag of accomplishing something worth while. Men taunt and decry the labor unions because they demand a square living wage for every member, but look at the case from the standpoint of a Union Laborer. Likewise in politics, look at things with the eyes of a politician who is nothing first and last, but a man with needs of a man, with a family, with hopes, fears, and expenses to pay, and by no means yet an ethereal angel.

Now you Americans demanding reforms, asking home rule, seeking freedom of thought, speech, and press, breaking every confining limit of life, and solving every problem in rabid haste, stop, look, and listen. Every breach of practical common sense brings heavy penalties of endless confusion and disaster, and experimental politics and new adjustments of true and tried machinery is a perilous program. Better use the stable brand of good old-fashioned Republican and Democratic Political Machines, where the simplicity of detail and knowledge of precedent promises slow but sure success, than encourage brilliant nightmares of philosophical reform and impossible impracticabilities and complications. If boiled shirts and pressed trousers keep our American citizens from honest toil, it is time we taught our children to crank their own automobiles, put on new tires, and raise fruit, vegetables, and chickens, for Americans are practical business people and not above good old-fashioned home duties. Don't tell men they are slaves, but say they are still men among men, and each best performs his duty when he holds down a

paying job, and attends to only such economic problems as are his personal concern. The party machine is a necessary instrument of citizenship, for how can we have government representation except as we have for government representatives, the leaders of bodies of men, and we must have these leaders represent men, and not simply stand for abstract theories.

Now let us consider another view of this project: No reasonable judge will deny men the right of combination for legal purposes, and laws which seek to make water run uphill are destructive and pernicious and can never accomplish permanent results. Individual cases of injustice will arise from every general law and institution, but if the final cumulative result is justice, we must hold to the narrow way, straight as a line, and only stop to palliate the unfortunate special exceptions whenever and wherever possible. Free contract privileges in Wall Street mean a few notorious losses, we admit, but here is established a uniform system of trade quotations whose world-wide benefits are beyond estimation, and to-day are the main support of all the business of the world, and without which every nation would be in the panic of bankruptcy and the black hopelessness of industrial confusion. Too often loose tongues find a too easy profit in arousing a suspicious public sentiment of wrongful injustice and misuse of public positions and information for profit and advantage where none exists. But yet we lay the foundations for such attacks upon business by laws in restraint of our constitutional institution of freedom to contract and be bound by contract, and it is high time some check

was devised to apply to every legislative body, to carefully consider the constitutionality of every proposed enactment. We cannot afford to stop the costly machinery of government for every grain of gravel that gets into some one's eye until he again sees clearly, and most of the big noise arises from unwise and unworthy causes, and with no object of philanthropy or public improvement. Every business is regulated by the supply and demand, both in relation to employment and production, and all these things will largely seek general levels if not held back by protective legislation.

What we must guard against, in the restraint of political machines, is the unnecessary multiplication of public offices, which serve as waiting rooms for politicians, who have missed their train, perhaps, but expect to take the next express to Washington. Yet we may too harshly judge even these, for often, as the smoke curls from the mellow cigar, great thoughts fill the mind, of future opportunities for useful service, and as the feet are elevated high upon the official desk, the active blood concentrates its power in the brain, and develops the round, genial face and lends the sunny smile to grace many a banquet hall, and perhaps spill a brilliant toast that will raise the smile of an emperor and gain for our beloved land some invaluable trade treaty or successful compromise. Let us not then judge each other any more, but declare every American truly endowed with warm patriotic principles burning in his breast, and let us unite, each in his own political machine, or independently, whenever necessity or choice so impels and

work first and last as partners in this grand American business commonwealth, for an American Nation, United in a true Unity of democratic advancement and profit for the welfare of all.

Successful Government is established when honest, capable men are elected to legislate and enforce sensible, just laws. Where capital is legally invested, the owners of patents, promotions, railroad and steamship lines, factories, and business houses are entitled to continue business and enjoy the profit and income from their inventions, genius, and investment. Just as a child grows tall at some decrease to his lateral strength and skill, so our industries thrive and grow by speculation and promotion at some temporary decrease of stability and system. There is a popular hallucination that legislation can correct every evil, and reform waves roll successively over the land, demoralizing business and filling the statute books with expensive, irresponsible, impractical legislation, pleasing to some few individuals and passed to catch the voters' temporary approval. Some legislation is necessary to meet our expansion and advancement, inasmuch as no code of law can supply in advance the needs of every economic change, but we must recognize the fact that legislation is a remedy, which must be used with discretion and under competent advice.

In every American city honest citizens hold the balance of power and easily control, unless their power is neutralized or diverted by some unsuspected or deceptive device." There is no great need at the present day for the people to be concerned in framing

a new constitution and new systems of laws to further complicate affairs. The reasoning stay-at-home voter cannot understand the desire or need of new laws, but decides that such proposed legislation is harmless. Then he does not attend his primary, and behold when the great glamor and call to arms on election day rends the welkin, he sulkily decides that the men of neither party are particularly desirable. Thus his reasonable intelligence and astute understanding creates the stay-at-home voter. Yet at that very election men of special interests, representative men, politicians, and office seekers are all voted, and given the power to spend public funds, to regulate schools and public buildings, to collect taxes and fill the offices of State.

New legislation is not the important issue, but honest rulers is what counts. The welfare of the State and Nation depends upon the character, the honesty and ability of Governors and office holders. We are vigilant in choosing good clerks and household servants, and likewise we must give attention to obtaining trustworthy and faithful rulers. Then, and only then, when we have the right men in office, will waste, extravagance, and exploitation cease. There is little benefit and much harm from such legislation as referendum and recall, and ballots freely open to all independents. We need simplicity in politics, and popular reforms are urged to draw the attention of the people from the primary elections. Short ballots are good provided good men are on the ballots; no referendum and recall is necessary, if good, honest rulers are chosen, the danger being that the

privilege of recall may be not used by the upright citizen, but become a two-edged sword in the hands of politicians to unseat victorious independents. Voting is the primary duty of citizens, and in our government, just as in business corporations, we must aim for efficiency and simplicity. Over half the qualified voters never or seldom vote at primary elections, and Americans must realize their civic responsibility to vote at every caucus.

It is a long story to explain how the independent voter is discouraged from entering the ballot booth. There is generally a law that no one can vote, at a primary election, unless he voted for a majority of the candidates of his party the previous year. The independent voter does not wish to disclose his standing, so many independents do not even attempt to vote. When the timid, nervous applicant appears and perhaps names his choice, he is asked to make an affidavit or statement, and the independent voter, who voted independently the previous year, thus cannot vote at the succeeding primary, but becomes disfranchised. But many say such condition of affairs is right, for the party candidates should be chosen by the machine. However, it always works out in favor of the politicians, for both Democratic and Republican machines combine against the independents, and their cause is lost.

Political machines are worried to-day as never before by Woman Suffrage, which has thrown a large, uncontrollable independent vote forward, and no forecast was possible how it would fall. Also the independent voters have learned the lesson to unite

their forces, to control one or the other of the National Parties, which plan has resulted in the election of many high-class men to office. Already to-day every state is largely controlled by progressive men, and the slump in machine politics is very apparent and real. The necessity which must next be met is to abandon the field of experimental cumulative legislation and impractical foolish attempts at reform. Reform in the sense of increasing civic righteousness is always to be commended, but reform to satisfy every new idea soon wears out the patience of the public. We do not need an increase of law, but to simplify, codify, and amplify the laws we have. Protect business, even to the repeal of every law which interferes with simple justice, fair dealings, and open markets. Simple justice requires that we render to each his due and proclaim all men of equal opportunity in the business field. Fair play for every business man is an American Doctrine, and the security and success of democratic rule depends upon the realization by all the people of the voters' obligation to never miss an opportunity to vote.

The Federal Constitution of the United States of America is, firstly, a rule of law and conduct for the national government and, secondly, a bill of rights for the several States, leaving the States to exercise many independent powers under their several constitutions. The original Senate of twenty-six members met behind closed doors as a secret national council and for half a century had no standing committees and did not realize the important power over legislation conferred by permitting them to propose amend-

ments to bills originating in the House of Representatives. Now the Senate controls legislation by amendments, and if these amendments are not accepted by the House the joint Senate and House committees redraw the bill, so that the first step of time for careful deliberation is established. Thus important laws cannot be rushed through without careful committee consideration.

Now it is a question whether forcing bills through both houses hurriedly under compulsion is wise, for such action is manifestly contrary to a spirit requiring forethought and investigation. In fact, our whole constitutional system is founded on the theory of more haste, less speed, and to antagonize action without due consideration of cause and effect. No treaty with a foreign power can be made unless ratified by a full two-thirds vote of the Senate, while the great majority of the bills submitted to Congress are prepared in the various committees, which pass on the form, object, and proper presentation. The component parts of the Federal Government are the House, each member being appointed for two years by popular election; the President, chosen for a term of four years, and the Senate, whose members serve for a term of six years and finally the Supreme Court Tribunal, whose members hold office for life. In order to make an important new law operative all four of these powers must be satisfied that the law is both Constitutional and beneficial. The American Republic is essentially a business democracy, offering fabulous returns for the labor of energetic, independent workers in every field of industry, commerce,

and agriculture. The question of State rights must be recognized to-day in accordance with the true intent of the Constitution. Every State has the Federal guarantee of the non-interference of the Federal Government in the State representation in the Senate, and, moreover, the Federal Government can make no law against the freedom of assembly, free press, free speech and religious expression; nor can it levy taxes on exports, nor impose military rules and regulations against the sovereign people in times of peace.

From the standpoint of true democracy it seems as if the freedom of labor to assemble, to control its members, and receive recognition, is as much a Federal right as for the business corporations to meet, to discharge employees, and to have their desires placed before the committees of legislation. But as a nation to-day our circumstances differ somewhat from the condition of the original thirteen States. We must develop commerce with other lands, or else retire within our own borders, and we must decide whether we shall cultivate world commerce or ply our trade with the republics of North and South America. Moreover, the time has passed when we have unlimited fields and plains open for the cultivation of virgin soil. Our emigrants were driven farther and farther west, in the good old days of unrestricted emigration, but now great bodies of foreign populations congregate in our cities, forming settlements similar to the proletariat of ancient Rome, where American ideals and customs do not so readily penetrate the masses. The population thus becoming

more settled, the need of uniform laws for all the States, for business, corporations and labor unions, for marriage and divorce, for development of harbors, highways, rivers, water power, public parks, irrigation, and the conservation of national resources, and for the control of transportation industry and commerce, becomes more and more evident. For these reasons the nation feels the need of Federal control to remove all possible causes of friction and diversity of opinion among the citizenry and to converge a union for the mutual interest of all the people, under the new, yet old, principles of Americanism.

The Function of Law is to preserve property and individual rights and privileges, where such have become the possessions of permanently invested capital. Our Government is now the recognized organ of a united people, binding them by bonds indissolvable and immutable, and our Unity depends upon the equality of distribution in the application of broadening law and the restraint of restrictive measures. So there can be no individual or selective interpretation of constitutional measures, except by the central empowered body, to which we look for the final judgment, which must likewise be based upon the instrument from which the deciding powers are derived. It is only by our submission to high and trusted authorities that we can hope to escape oppression and injustice, and neither can we leave any misunderstanding or controversy unsettled, nor refuse absolute submission to some unchanging code. We do not want one law for wealth and another for poverty, lest we suffer through long dreary years of misgovernment

and injustice, and fail to maintain the equilibrium and nicety of balance of the machinery of government.

International standardization has become the keynote of efficiency as regards aeroplanes for air warfare, submarines and submarine destroyers for ocean warfare, and batteries of armored war machines for land warfare, all of which have combined to revolutionize modern operations in military tactics as completely as the steel armored vessels and turreted monitors revolutionized naval affairs in the days of our Civil War. The unprecedented expansion of credit must, for a generation at least, keep wages up and interest rates down. Meanwhile, this great Democratic nation has become a world thinking people, if not in fact actually a world advising and world controlling people, with malice toward none, to solve great international problems, with justice and fair-play for all nations, races and peoples.

“Virtue alone outbuilds the pyramids;

Her monuments shall last when Egypt’s fall.”

This generation of American Citizens has actually experienced the mobilization of the business experts of America, and our foremost captains of industry now stand, with all their boundless wealth, knowledge and genius, backing up the Government of the United States, a condition of affairs never before paralleled in history. The various advisory councils and leagues for national defense and food conservation have enlisted the services of men of brains and love of country, forming a home army, uniting the business men of America with the political leaders of the nation, and ushering in such an era of good feel-

ing as heretofore has never been known. Never before has a government been confronted with such problems as the present administration, and never in the history of the world have problems been so wisely handled, without precedents available from which to judge results and effects. Politicians can only estimate the courage and judgment of our present day leaders in terms of statesmanship, combined with a wonderful degree of public confidence, coöperation and patriotism of united effort and support, and we view this union of states doubly united in service and ideals to sacrifice our all in the cause of world wide humanitarianism and service, to silence prejudice, remove doubts and fears, and reason out every cause and effect, in order to preserve this glorious Union. As upon our Flag there is a place for the star of every State, and not one of them shall be lost or forgotten, so in our illustrious commonwealth is a place for every citizen where, bravely and zealously, he can render dutiful service. Here, then, rests every dissension, that we severally maintain our allegiance to our Flag and the Brotherhood of Man, inseparable, and united forever in Liberty.

No class of business men stands more abuse, often well deserved, than the practicing attorney, generally supposed to be sort of a combination bulldog and mental combatant, to shield the criminal from his just deserts and to compel the performance of every obligation, if representing the obligee, and vice-versa, if representing the obligor. Seldom are fees paid, unless under duress, and the very act of duress brands the attorney as unprofessional. Now in the great up-

heaval of business affairs, just as every other non-productive middleman, agent, broker, and politician is being ousted from profitable deals, the average attorney likewise is regarded as one of the non-essential elements of business life, without whom the wheels of progress can be more easily vibrated. True, within the great corporations every illustrious lawyer finds ready employment, for with his wonderful insight into human nature and his knowledge of statutory law and court procedure he is a valuable guide in business affairs. Also the political life opens many opportunities if the attorney can qualify as a statesman and overcome the natural prejudice and distrust of the popular mind.

But in the regular legal field of general practice the competition in the legal profession is so keen that the average lawyer finds his accumulated fees well below the required living wage. The small courts are generally patronized by youngsters who are trying to win spurs of fame, and having no family or office expenses can faithfully undertake any procedure with little or no compensation. The great title companies have usurped the care of real estate purchases and with their accumulated information can handle titles far more accurately and expeditiously. The old practice of despoiling and plundering public service corporations is largely done away with by the safety devices, while the practice of personal injury cases against manufacturers and railroads is reduced to a minimum by the employers' liability laws in effect in practically every state, which settle all such cases by a scale of compensation. The codification of laws

makes the understanding of legal problems much more simple, and the laymen in his factory or shop, by a little careful study, can know more than his attorney. Also, every newspaper runs a legal information department, where advice is given free. Do the young men plunging into the legal profession realize the strenuous competition and the present limitations? Of course the law is a stepping stone to many varieties of business careers, but it has always been known as a long, hard, and difficult road to success. Business life to-day furnishes more attractions for the present and promises more stability for the future, and the best lawyers find their most remunerative employment from industrial corporations and firms where knowledge of laws leads to greater business efficiency.

After all is said and done, we are only men, with warm hearts, with minds of men thinking in terms of men. Give us flattery, and all the good things of life, plenty of food, clothing, and shelter, for true relaxation of mind comes from a little jollity rather than from serious criticism. We admire those men and women who express admiration for us, and costless courtesy is the priceless prerogative we define as tact. Imagine a lover confining himself to facts, or a preacher waging relentless war upon beauty and pleasure. We live a killing pace, fighting bravely, through the luck and pluck scenes of life, and as hope after hope is dashed to oblivion, we live, and move, and have our being, and discover that after all the one true, uncompromising friend is the evasive almighty dollar whose comradeship is measured out to us so sparingly by this

covetous world. Take a little laughter, a little sorrow, a little cheerfulness, a little despair, a little sunshine, a little gloom, combined with eating, sleeping, and the service or waste of the precious hours of life, and there you have it all. Eat, drink, and be merry, for kindly cheer adds many a year, and sometimes keeps off bilious attacks. It don't do to take life too seriously, for friendship is built upon benefits received and anticipated kindness. We are all of us a little bit like the pussies, with humped-up backs rubbing on all the soft places. We purr contentedly as long as the good things come our way.

Each human life is a garden either of beautiful flowers or of noxious weeds. We may define the golden rule of humanitarianism as "assisting your brother to weed out the garden of his life and cultivate the beautiful flowers of virtue." In every sphere of life, civility between man and man is the oil of life's machinery. The test of culture is the ability to disguise great objectives in tactful politeness and generosity. It is the application of this oil of society which obligates a gentleman to speak pleasantly to an enemy, to ignore individual peculiarities, deformities, and habits, and treat motherhood and age with consideration and respect. The true fire of a genial heart kindles responsive appreciation in every intercourse with our fellowmen, smooths over the rough places of life and brings victory from defeat. The elemental forces of purity, progress, and devotion to race welfare in the warm, beating hearts of men never perish and respect for the rights of others is always respected.

Humanitarianism is the qualification of every great

man. When the victorious Union Army started to salute Grant with cannon he said: "Not so, for it will wound the feelings of our prisoners who have become our countrymen again." It takes a great loving heart to bind the wounds of bleeding humanity. Argument is like war; you can win a debate and lose a friend; you can win a battle and leave strife everlasting; you can wound your enemy and make him your enemy forever. Blessed is the peacemaker who can make smooth the rough places and beautify rather than destroy. No amount of advice can take the place of a little congenial assistance, and no criticism or planning can take the place of beneficial service. Humanitarianism is living faith in living works, to accomplish the greatest good for the greatest number, and to willingly sacrifice self in the service of others.

The greatest study of mankind is man, and it is difficult to think of a topic interesting to men except as it is also related to the study of man. Divide your friends by a mental picture into their elements. Here is one who is wise, conceited, philanthropic, wasteful, and sensitive; another is harsh, cruel, niggardly, covetous, and wealthy; another is kind, lazy, sympathetic, awkward, and poor as Job's turkey. A great man feels most insecure when his friends praise him, for that means it is time for him to retire and wear the laurel forevermore. But when men are silent or filled with criticisms and advice, he can be sure that although they don't know what he will do next, people expect him to make some important move. Our strength grows as our indignation flames up over

the insults and abuse we suffer; we are forced to resort to our wits to study our guard and our defense, as well as our advance and attack upon the enemy. Every evil thing we conquer is more than merely a victory, it is new experience and confidence gained, and the strength following the evil turns to the victor as his reward. It is worth while to store up knowledge, for no law can place a tax upon it, nor can any enemy take it away, and like the tree of wealth, it grows and increases with mature years, and with all and through all, it is a constant source of strength and happiness. When the children of Israel tried to save up the manna food in the wilderness it rapidly decayed and gave no comfort, and so it appears with wealth and earthly riches. The strong man is too overbearing to please society, and the pretty girl becomes too self-centred for true love and admiration. Races of men are invigorated by cold climates, while hot climates of ease breed fevers and degeneration. Nothing is absolutely new, but we build upon the foundations of the past and we use the same forces of nature as have always existed and from which we cannot subtract and to which we can add nothing, for there is no true destruction either of force or of material. Lives of service carry their own reward; and also crime and wrong-doing, by their very existence, brand the criminal, just as surely as smoke is the sign of fire. To every action there is a reaction, so that there is no real necessity for us to hasten to judge our fellowmen, and we can afford to await the natural retribution upon the criminal, which may be in fact more severe than the punishment devised by human

ingenuity. The life of man is so short that the world can afford to await the death of evildoers, if the coming generation could be free from iniquity. But it is too often that strife used to repress strife stirs up and breeds strife, whereas peace will breed peace and confidence. It is best to live a life of ease and righteousness, to receive and enjoy every favor and benefit, to give freely to charity, to spend and be spent, and take in all the pleasure we may. Men pay dearly for selfishness, for frugality that amounts to deprivation, and for total abstinence from adventure and hazard, in a cramped, narrow life secluded from society and service. For how can any man understand other men unless he has lived their life and thought their thoughts. It is easy to condemn any person if we do not hear his side of the case, but if we listen with understanding heart to the real story of men with whom or with whose ideals we may be out of sympathy, we will always find that knowledge and true information will bring an honest enchantment as we find ourselves dealing with living lives of living men. Experienced men of the world know that those who criticize most would gain more information by investigating conditions and studying causes and effects, rather than condemning unheard, for the wealthy and wise should be the first to study mankind with the object of assistance and comfort to the needy. The dearest bargain we can buy is the cheap or unnecessary purchase, and the best bargain is that which best satisfies our greatest need, so after all we find that this old world pays dollar for dollar, and we get out of life about as much as we put into it.

It is enough for us to be Americans, for whatever each individual can produce is determined by his wisdom, industry, and economy. Internal dissension is always more dangerous to a people than hostile invasion, for in case of open warfare the nation is strung to the highest pitch of resistance, the armies and navies are kept at full efficiency, and individual ideals are sacrificed to public protection. There is no such commensurate power of resistance to internal factional disputes, where public opinion and continuous appeals to patriotism and allegiance are the safeguards to preserve national strength and integrity.

Men feign to be exceedingly surprised to find their illustrious contemporaries well content to ride any one's pony if perchance they may now and then be permitted to win a race. But unity of thought, ideals, and aims was never more necessary than today, and never was there greater necessity that the people consider fair play and good-will for all and toward all men. Especially are attacks against corporations, business enterprises, and organizations for public welfare fundamentally wrong, for the burden of self-protection of business men in America is already too great, and in order to have trade and prosperity for all, we must have unity and universal brotherhood between all American citizens individually, and between all nations universally. Judge every corporation by its deeds, and where great up-building developments are being pushed forward for the public benefit, approve, assist, and render encouragement and service. The difference between savagery and civilization is that savagery is built on

fear, while civilization is built on trust. The one develops the arts of warfare, while the other is the progress of the arts of peace, that is the growth of trust and confidence, of each man in his fellowmen. As at London, a brass rod is kept to be the unchanged, unchanging measure of a yard length, so that all measures throughout the world may be made true from one standard, so we must have conformity of our laws and continually measure and square every contemplated enactment by the Constitution of the United States and court decisions thereon, and not by contemporary statutes, else we will deviate from the true fundamental ideas of our republican institutions. To increase good-will, the essential element is to keep independent the individuality of the individuals, yet to preserve intact the unity of the whole, so as to continue the advancement of the welfare of humanity. The future of this republic and of every other nation depends on the principles and life of organizations of men. When every organization stands finally for the same patriotic principles, then is there true unity as an accomplished fact. No organization is right except as its objects and principles are active living humanitarian objectives, for all and for the benefit of all, but for these right principles, even after unity is an accomplished fact, there will still be room for organizations to cultivate and cherish every true source of patriotic thought and purpose.

Many a man says in challenge to the call of society to efficiency: "I never had a chance," and these men often believe society reduces them to the state of out-

casts, never thinking of the principle of blaming themselves for failure or degradation, and not casting the blame where it does not belong. The survival of the fittest is a necessary social law, and the motto of every contestant must be "Be fit. Be Prepared." Failure and lack of sympathy, friendship, and opportunity, drive men to crime, and society, as organized in various straits of national life, is cold to strangers, as self-preservation demands. But a new reform is sweeping over our land, a reform to make all citizens individually better men physically, morally, and mentally, so that the least of those who say they never had a chance can be instructed and employed, but never lost to society. Let the son of the leader of industry work at the forge, and his daughter study living life in living lives, for this modern reformation is real, it is here in our midst, it will make America a nation of giants among men, yet the friend of every man, regardless of race or creed.

It is an old French theory that a nation is measured by its men, produce, and goods in stock, rather than by its hoarded gold, for we can live on produce and goods and live well. Real active capital to-day is being systematically forced to pay practically the entire taxation to run the government, and why and what is this condition of affairs leading to? "Right about face," Mr. Leader; call it out sharp and strong before we are brushed aside by the ruthless competition of Europe and Asia, solidly organized in common sense phalanx formation to drive business bargains in every corner of the globe. This is no brainstorm warning, but a clear, clean-cut, red-light signal ahead.

Don't you see it? This is vital to the successful future of our beloved nation, and what would we not do for America? Stop, look, and listen, ye political forces; take up this question fearlessly, and even at a complete sacrifice of every personal interest, unite in justice to our merchants and manufacturers. Every interest coupon to-day cut from a bond must bear a large, needless, sealed affidavit to collect no tax; every large estate in order to dispose of stock must have a dispensation from practically every State in the Union, and every corporation must file an annual report of all the secrets of business activity. These requirements are neither just nor businesslike. Protect the workers and tax the drones. Help those who help themselves, unravel the intricate tangle of threads upon threads with which we have concentrated the burden of taxation wholly upon active capital and built up once more a healthy business atmosphere in these United States of America.

All the world stands amazed at the tremendous resisting power of militarism against the combined nations of Europe. The great sacrifice of resources goes on with hopeless fury, a monument to the folly of Kings and Emperors. If that same energy and wealth now wasted in the great war had been systematically applied to the development of civilization among Eastern people, the world's progress would have been advanced a thousand years. The union of Germany, Turkey, Austria, and the minor Eastern States into one powerful empire, in complete control of their natural lines of communication with Asia and Africa, could have controlled absolutely the Eastern

trade and united two thirds of the world's population in commercial union. Did Italy see this vision when she deserted the inland nations and joined the Entente Allies, the commercial combinations of the coast nations of Europe? If they succeed in the restraint or destruction of German and Mohammedan power they may for generations control the great trade demands of Asia and Africa.

Commerce follows convenience and economy so that Europe must look chiefly toward Eastern countries for its future markets. Germany found herself a tremendously powerful, thrifty, energetic people, hemmed in and strangled by active neighbors. But why did she not see the great possibilities of the East? The lust for power and the blind, haughty spirit of the military machine sealed the fate of the grand Empire. War is folly and a wise man will count the cost of conflict, and use his resources for construction and not for destruction. Why upon such flimsy pretexts sounded the martial trumpet? Perhaps in the great universal plan of world history there is the part of God's fool, like Napoleon, to bring the crushing power of retribution upon pride, selfishness, and oppression. Let us, however, not judge the thought, the word, or the deed of any man, nor hold an unkind emotion against any person, but rather let us simply have full confidence that the ultimate result will bring its harvest of good and that after the terrible conflict is over, righteousness will roll down upon the nations as a mighty stream.

But many say the United States of America missed a great opportunity when Belgium was invaded, for

we could have announced a *causus belli* and Germany would never have dared to cross the border. Suppose such result had occurred; France must have fallen before the powerful military machine and Russia also would have been an easy victim. Such successes would have forced Italy, Greece, Rumania, and indeed practically all Europe into subjection to Germany. But the spirit of militarism was unrighteous and the principle of levying tribute upon many defenseless neutral cities inexcusable. Now we see might and power hemmed in and destroyed by their own lust, as new Governments of the people, for the people, and by the people rear themselves upon the ruins of monarchy.

The thought of universal peace has now passed from the theoretical stage of dreamlore to the practical consideration of the cause and effect of war and the elements of peace. The foremost cause of war is always the military machine. Such a machine arises from the cultivation of the criminal, base instincts of the lower natures of men and is nourished by lust, greed, and a disregard of all humanitarian principles and all rights of men as individual men. It is the idea of the Greek Phalanx or the modern steel tank, crashing over fields of living men and grinding them all to dust. Thus the spirit of war levels all mankind and bears within itself the seeds of its own destruction. The second element of war is military supplies, including all weapons of warfare, food, shelter, and clothing and men, animals, and machines, trained in all manner of horrors and cruelties, relentless of destruction and wholesale devastation, death,

and ruin. Education and culture are destructive of the spirit of war, for all history proves that only degenerated or barbarian nations are warriors from choice and desire, and intense civilization breeds the elements of peace.

In the proposed United Council of Nations to Enforce Universal Peace the first article will declare principles which place the man above the dollar and place a premium upon human life and culture. The second article will denounce militarism in every form and provide for the gradual reduction of both naval and army armaments to level all peoples in their ability of attack and defense, for it is an elemental rule that men will not fight simply to tear men and women limb from limb, and the foremost element of warfare is cowardice. Seldom will any body of men attack, except either under most desperate circumstances or when the heat of passion overrules judgment, or when victory and plunder seem to be assured to them. The third article will deprive every nation declaring war of all aid, either financial or industrial, after such declaration, and forbid the import to such nation of foodstuff, supplies, arms, and ammunition, both in manufactured form and also in form of any of the necessary ingredients, parts, or elements, for no power to-day is sufficient unto itself as to trust itself to warfare with world-wide disapprobation. The fourth article will reduce any nation declaring war to a state of ignominy, unworthy of the confidence and intercourse of mankind until the reproach of evil may be removed by a jury of the powers that be.

Here is an opportunity for the United States to again hold world leadership by the organization of an international arbitration college, first for North America, then for South America, then for Asia, Africa, and even Europe. The fear of the effect of a European trade war will be the first elimination. We cannot now get tin without signing a dozen international agreements with European powers, but if both the Americas insist on an international square deal we are going to get it. Just as the United States is the greatest storehouse of minerals, South America is rapidly becoming the world's exporter of raw produce material. Indeed, it is probable that such a united action of North and South America would compel all nations to join a movement for universal peace immediately, for intense warfare cannot be endured unless the burden of expense, through long terms of credit, is laid upon many generations yet unborn.

Patriotism is that quality of an American which demands justice without hatred, and emphasizes the the duty of self-sacrifice for our native land. Insincere oratory lulls to sleep the stern qualities of manliness, shirking duty and service. Too many Americans hold themselves too good to work, too religious to fight, too honest to tell the truth. We know that it is one thing to say a thing, and another thing to prove it. It is one thing to believe in justice and righteousness, but another thing to stand up for the right and fight to defend principles of equity and fair play. There is a glory of peace, and there is a glory of war; there is a glory of argument and as-

sistance, and a glory of conquest and compulsion. Our duty is not merely local, to secure to every American equality before the law, and fraternity before the world, but to secure and preserve international equality, opportunity, and fraternity, and this object will be best accomplished by the natural growth of the forces of civilization. We are dedicated a united people to the cause of liberty and justice to all the children of men, and stout of heart and pledged to righteousness, we stand firm, in the face of the wildest storms, the guardian of *truth and freedom*.

Universal military training will give to us as a nation the first requisite of authority, and may we speak kind words to the down-trodden, and lend assistance to poor and needy humanity. How can we employ our great wealth, education, and culture, better than in teaching lessons of truth and uprightness to less-favored lands, and spreading the doctrines of justice and civilization, which in time of trouble will always arise and call us friend and ally. Did France lose the moneys and lives of men spent to aid the United States in the cause of liberty, or has the friendship thereby secured been a bond of thousandfold and eternal value? Fear not to be charitable, to forgive, to assist the enemy who will merit and accept succor, to raise the fallen, and extend sympathy and assistance to the weak. We hand out to humanity a stone, when we demand uncompromisingly their subjection to our forms of authority, but we are all one great family of world nations to-day, and with patient and persevering effort, let us spread the democratic principle of fair play to every people, that in all

business dealings, Americans shall have the reputation of the greatest veracity, uprightness, and impartial justice among nations.

As we know and face the truth, the truth will make us free men indeed. But if we fail to defend our honor and our civilization against aggression at all times and in all places, we degrade our highest national duty. We must first know the truth, and then with courage, foresight, and self-sacrifice stand for the right, whatever be the cost, and publish to the world that between good and evil, between right and wrong, there can be no compromise, but right must prevail. Because there is some evil in every man, shall we destroy the race; because there is evil in every nation, shall we destroy every power alike for evil and for good? There is a greater question here than plunge into bloodshed and anarchy at every affront and insult, and actual warfare is the last and least effective weapon that can be used. German efficiency stood in a fair way to encompass the earth, until the headstrong, foolish dynasty departed from the ways of a conquest by peace. Was not this a terrible error, leading to bloodshed and ruin, to strife and confusion, to the loss of all earthly possessions and influence? At the sound of the martial trumpet the greatest system of preparedness the world has ever known entered the death struggle, because they failed to realize that the purpose of preparedness is not to wage war but to preserve peace and righteousness among the nations. The eternal years of all the centuries belong to omnipotent truth, and duty calls us to rather be patient in well doing, giving

protection and not destruction to kindred races and peoples.

We entered the great war of nations and threw every ounce of our power, wealth, and fighting force upon the altar of righteousness and civilization, desecrated by the indescribable horrors of the fratricidal deadly conflict, because international law and every right of neutrals was not merely openly but boastingly violated. With tenacity of purpose and our power of endurance, backed by unlimited resources, the laws of the rights of liberty, equality, and fraternity of man are being grafted upon every mainland and isle, so that through countless ages, forces of nationalism will never again revolt against the powers of universal world-wide democracy and humanitarianism. By enduring sorrow and hardship with courage and loyalty, the peace of nations shall be an enduring peace, not founded upon subjection to armed power, but admittedly the triumph of virtue and lofty ideals. But in order that we may never again fall into ways of emotional philanthropy and slothful luxury as a people, America must train her young men and young women to the dangers of inactivity and ease, else the lessons here taught will be lost. The devil always finds mischief for idle minds, and when our school children display the latest styles at the football game, daintily sip afternoon teas, gossip, and argue on questions of ethereal consequence, and in all and through all think nothing, endure nothing, live nothing, and do nothing, it is time we started a revolution of ingenuity, hard, consistent labor, and right and proper living at the source

of education. We can defend this land, not because our forefathers fought and bled in freedom's cause, but because our children are prepared to fight wrong, rather than compromise in a righteous movement; and our Country stands for international purposes and ideals, the ideals of supreme international laws, for the protection of life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness to every people. We can never have peace and justice at home if anywhere upon this globe righteousness is openly and wantonly violated, and we need not fear to declare our stand positively and without equivocation for world-wide justice.

But when we seek truth, we do not find it in nationalism, creed, race, or condition of men, but solely in their equality of opportunity, to choose and determine personal selection or rejection of fundamentals. Fanaticism is a frailty of civilization, bequeathed to us from the Dark Ages, avoidable only by intelligent toleration. All men correspond in thought, word, and deed, the only divergencies appearing temporarily and locally, because of conditions, training, and environment. Men are measured only by what they have endured, suffered, and experienced, and it is error for us to ever judge them by any name they bear, but measure them solely by their character, conduct, and availability for valuable service. As all nations seek a common universality, so all brotherhoods of men seek a common altar of world friendship, that civic and industrial opportunities be open to all men, for the best preparedness is intense training of every citizen to efficiency and skill in

daily toil, that there be no warring trenches among men, either within nations or international, but every wrongdoing, fraud, and falsehood be abhorred and obliterated from the records of earth, and truth be triumphant over all.

AMERICANS, AWAKE!

AMERICANS, awake! We are here, free born in our native land. But liberty is not license, and preparation for defense is not war. Be prepared to defend righteousness and justice. We need every American in business to develop and build up our national resources. All controversies of Americans with Americans must cease, and we must stand together to win. "America First," brothers. Let us renew friendship with all our friends, and shake hands with all our foes, and swear anew allegiance to the flag of our country, to keep America for Americans.

Emigrants, who come to America to found homes, should be welcomed, and every one should be required to declare his intention to become an American citizen. American labor justly demands recognition and fair play in every field of operation. May we never see laborers brought over by the boatload at per capita price to replace our workmen in factories and business developments. Wages paid American laborers are not thrown away, for the money only returns from the manufacturers and producers to the consumers, and every one is benefited, and the country enjoys true prosperity.

No republic can survive the storms of indifference, greed, and pride, except there be rooted in the hearts of the common people an intense patriotism to con-

stantly renew the spirit of democracy. It is the privilege and duty of every American citizen, whenever and wherever the need arises, to stand firm and more firmly for the Constitution and the Flag. Our Constitution guarantees to every citizen life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and freedom of religion, society, and industry. All men are born free and equal. This is a country of opportunity. It is the only land where the lowest man can rise to the highest position. There is no class distinction. These ideals are distinctly American and must be carefully guarded and preserved. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

Without question the Bible is recognized as the basis of the best modern morality. If there be truth in *The Book*, as without exception every one throughout the civilized world believes, it should be read in our public schools, where the ideals of future generations are moulded. Our watchword is the protection and extension of our system of free public education, and without prejudice or bigotry to instill in the mind of every American youth the principles of Americanism. The public school is truly the cornerstone of the Republic, and we must make the course of education so complete that no American child can afford to miss the great public opportunity.

Freedom of society, and of the individual, necessitates the recognition of the equality of every citizen before the law of the land. When the so-called honor system for examinations was introduced, no one believed it could succeed. But the success was instantaneous and absolute. There is honor among Americans. We do not need policemen, criminal courts,

judges, jailors, and executioners to coerce men, but we do need a patriot's education for every citizen. Give every man liberty, equality, and fraternity, and none except degenerates will be criminals. Carefully educate, train, and organize the citizenry, and there will be no degenerates. The greatest study of mankind is man. The nation would be better off without intriguing lawyers and politicians, and in their place and stead have justice and statesmen. In society we recognize the necessity of leaders. Industrial systems must be devised and organizations developed, for organization is the machinery of industry.

Where there is freedom of industry, regulation is automatic. We have no sympathy for the man who pushes himself forward by pushing others backward. There is, however, too much antagonism toward industrial system. It is not fair to put a great leader on trial because he achieves success. The Government suits against directors of corporations should be frowned upon, unless the parties accused are positively guilty of intentional crime. If there is no intentional crime, injured parties should be held to their common-law remedy. To-day there are too many actions that savor more of blackmail than justice, and these suits are a public nuisance. The great insurance companies, the public service corporations, and the railroads have been and are the backbone and sinews of our progress. Give honor where honor is due. Judge every enterprise by this standard. Grant favor to every man, institution, and corporation which develops and adds to the wealth of the country. Wealth is a measure of reward for service,

and the standard of the value of a man is the service he renders to others.

Every American citizen is personally interested in every question of national, industrial, or political importance. Americanism is truly a matter of the spirit and of the soul. The lesson is not easily learned by men stunted by the brutality of European tyranny. We must strive for unity and similarity of ideals, customs, and beliefs, and not encourage immigration to the extent where we cannot mould the spirit and soul of the immigrant to American ideals. The American workingman is the highest and best type of manhood in the world, but even he may well study the means of social welfare. Is not the pen, after all, mightier than the sword? Are not the forces of construction and development better than those of destruction and ruin? Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are of good report, think on these things. Stand steadfast, with the courage of conviction, the champions of liberty, equality, and fraternity, to protect and fight for every true ideal of Americanism.

The office of Religion is to control and regulate all peoples and Nations by the Gospel of Good-will of every man toward all his fellowmen. A great society can arise only through the combination of great constituents into a homogeneous body, where the individuality of each is curtailed as they are assigned to the work best adapted to the individual taste and tendency. About four hundred months of active service constitute the span of lifetime, and no individual, no combination of events, and no facts of history can mould the future, but for a few short

years each is left a free agent to choose a life of service, and to create a symmetrical and beautiful character. Avoid the fatal and prevailing indifference toward religious expression, which in the broadest sense declares every form equally acceptable, salutary, and worthy, yet recognizes and follows no discipline or authority. Rather encourage the spirit of active co-operative service, with distinctive belief, combined with charity toward all, for there can be no real antagonism between any principles of religion with any government, authority, or creed. Neither can the natural be antagonistic to the supernatural, for all the great virtues of truth, honor, courage, loyalty, liberty, patriotism, obedience, industry, and faith are the natural elements of true religion. Therefore no revelation of science or invention, and no course of education or research can result otherwise than in the ascertainment of truth, which is the foundation upon which we must rear our temple of service.

America has demonstrated that religion can thrive without state influence in an atmosphere of personal freedom of the individual, where the members of all denominations must frequently associate together and intimately understand each other. Formerly each nation used the religious instincts of its people to consolidate its State unity, founding the Greek Church, the German Lutheran Church, the Reformed Church of Holland, and the Episcopal Church of England, but in our land of liberty the melting pot of nations has also proved the melting pot of religions, where all differences must be reconciled, and true universal good-will toward all men reign as the su-

preme element of all religion, in the hearts of the people. Therefore all controversies, hatreds, criticisms, bigotry, and antagonisms must cease, and in place of these cultivate truth, sympathy, charity, and liberality, until the old things of earth pass away, and better and brighter days dawn upon the world's civilization.

Those who say war is impossible do not give due consideration to the facts, for history has never yet chronicled a nation that has not sooner or later become involved in some life-and-death struggle for existence or for the maintenance of principles of justice and righteousness. Whenever and wherever populations are congested, and organized systems of industry involved in difficulties or exposed to destructive competition, the temper of the affected populace becomes so strained and unreasonable that any minor event, backed by popular prejudice, will precipitate warfare. America must be for Americans, and all the great private developments of our national resources must be mobilized under government direction, with the constant design of improving the welfare of the working people. Invested capital must recognize that all laborers are entitled to living wages, and that people who are not robbed do not revolt or foment-strikes or arm for self-defense. The recognition of organized labor is not frightful to contemplate, for the American workingman is also the ultimate consumer. Likewise, government regulation of prices and rates of transportation may not be destructive of justice, for the rights of all must be respected. As it is a sign of moral and religious deterioration when all

the speaking, thinking, preaching, and praying is done by hired servants, so it is a sign of national weakness when foreign imported labor tills the soil, builds canals and roads, and supplies toilers for the mills and factories. That nation has the greatest sources of strength where all citizens are self-supporting, active, progressive members under organized leadership.

No part of the proposed propaganda for preparedness is more important than the transportation and commercial service. The principles of protective tariff have built up our manufacturing independence, and the subsidizing of trade vessels is only a form of beneficial protective tariff applied to the merchant marine. History shows that the best navies of the world have always been built up through channels of commercial activity, and this branch of the development can be made a veritable gold mine in every market of the world. Let our ambassadors renew and improve commercial treaties, and make way for the vice-consuls, sales representatives, and trained export agents. Trade follows the business credit, the accommodating banking facilities, and the subsidized fleet, and tangible business credit is already a reality in every nation, for the old things have passed away, and new nations are assuming the rôle of leadership and expansion. Every American these days should economize in living expenses, cultivate industry, and increase business competency, so as to take advantage, as far as possible, of every opportunity at hand, for our Nation is now the recognized champion of Democracy as against Autocracy and

Militarism, to uphold law and order against conscienceless Ambition.

No foreign army could land upon our shores unless our navy was first destroyed, and if the destruction of the navy were accomplished, it is doubtful whether tens of millions of armed soldiery could prevent foreign invasion. In any event, the greatest devastation would occur at the sea coast cities, for no invading army could conquer the interior states, nor hold any state in subjection, as has been proved by the defeat or capture of every army that has ever been transported to our shores. We must at once effectively bring about complete efficiency in our navy, which could best be accomplished under the direction of an expert naval defense commission to be continued as a non-political council, with its own budget system and staff organization. As a peace-loving nation we deplore war, but at the same time we must recognize the possibility of war and be prepared. We must have such a quality of peace as will keep open every highway of opportunity to develop our national resources and industries. Our hopes of righting the wrongs of men are symbolized by the feelings of reverence that stir the breast as we honor the Star-Spangled Banner, and ever we must realize that the principles for which our flag stands must be animated by power to enforce right and to defend against wrong, until every nation shall be free from the curse and burden of militarism and become devoted solely to the arts of peace.

Other nations have been rent time and again by race prejudice, religious intolerance, and political

uprisings. The future of the United States of America depends on the avoidance of each of these dangers. The three great safeguards are the Public Schools, the Bible, and the Flag.

The public schools have the function of uniting peoples of every race into one democratic nation. This is a big proposition and not the work of a day but of generations. The public schools should be guarded from every objectionable influence. That means every influence that any class of citizens can object to, and every child should be compelled to attend the public schools. There is great need to make the schools more practical, and teach every child some trade by which it may be possible to gain a living. Self-supporting ability for every citizen is the greatest asset of a nation. The hope of true democracy is to amalgamate all races and peoples. A prominent Jewish leader declared that the Jews sent their children to the public schools to make them better Americans and any religious training desired by the parents was given in classes held evenings or out of school hours. That is the proper spirit, and no race values more highly the principles of the American Constitution than the Jewish people. The public schools should also teach patriotism and the rudiments of government and the principles of the Constitution. It is a great work, and our public schools promise a United America.

The Open Bible is more important than the majority of citizens are willing to admit. There is nothing in this book opposed to republicanism. Suppression of opinion, whether political, religious, or

otherwise, is not only contrary to the National Constitution but is positively dangerous. People are not fools, and if the facts are brought to their attention, they will immediately recognize the truth and banish falsehood. But if the facts are hidden or suppressed, feelings of bigotry and prejudice will appear, and truth will be trampled upon by envy, greed, and falsehood. We need not fear to trust to popular intuition; know the truth and the truth will make you free. Sectarianism is and always has been one of the bitterest and most successful enemies of democracy. Can America avoid this pitfall? The Open Bible is the only hope, and never in the history of the world has the Bible been such an open book as it is to-day. It seems possible with free public schools and an Open Bible that religious leaders may discover and sometime agree that all aim to attain the same goal, and there is no true reason for sectarian antagonism.

Not the least important of the great safeguards is the national emblem. The flag of our country must wave over a united people. "America First" must be the watchword of every American. Honor to the flag is due from every citizen on every possible occasion. The Stars and Stripes stand for liberty of action, thought, and conscience, for a living wage and opportunity to every man, and for fraternity and brotherhood of every man to every fellowman. When the band plays the national hymn, be the first to rise. Let us all renew our allegiance to the flag, and safeguard the strength of the nation with purity and righteousness, ready to defend our own liberty, and generous to demand freedom of the person and of the

mind for every individual, of every race, of every people. Our flag is the emblem of personal liberty, and as we reverence the principles of freedom, and as we do good to our fellowmen, we honor the flag of our country.

A certain old maid wrote upon her page of life, "A bachelor is a crank." "That a woman cannot turn," added the bachelor. There could be no better illustration of the shortsightedness of many reformers who demand the elements of liberty without order, or the elements of order without liberty. Unselfish, individual good-will between every man and his neighbor is the crying necessity of this age.

Eliminate the injustice that arises from statutory law, undiluted with commonsense, mercy, and reason. To-day our public prosecutors attack an accused person for the glory of conviction, and the presumed criminal believes the minions of the law his mortal enemies. The old Chancery Court of England was supposed to have the power to overstep statutory law and do justice, but we have no longer any protection of this nature except where conscientious judges allow themselves to be ruled by considerations of probable cause and effect, and of the greatest good to the greatest number, and other great fundamental principles of the common law of the land, which are often buried under piles of statutory enactments and worthless local decisions, which lawyers and barristers are able to use with equal applicability on either side of any legal question that may arise. The cry of "back to the land" for the people is not absurd, because all must live natural lives according to speci-

fic rules and regulations of nature. Also, it is not absurd to call the people back to common sense, good-will toward all, humility and charity, that the old fundamental features of the common law of the land be emphasized and taught to the nation; that prosperity and peace may abound, and the objects of law shown to be to increase the personal efficiency of every citizen and never to destroy achievements, to ruin character, or to curtail industrial progress. Just as in the twinkling of an eye, the vandal, with the slash of a knife, can destroy a painting impossible of reproduction, and just as a great war can in a few years destroy the work of centuries, so the demands for liberty without order, or for order without liberty, are equally destructive of enduring justice, for we need service tempered with charity toward all.

Peace has its perils more than war. Selfishness and the fear of arousing antagonism, by refusing to support controlled organized voting power, is the peril of democracy. Let the people rule in liberty, but keep liberty within rules of order. The school children of to-day are the hope of our future national existence, and no nation divided against itself can stand. Every leader who sees these menaces to our home life, to our industrial life, and to our national life, and refuses to strive to arouse public opinion to strike down such evils is a traitor to his country. The Supreme Court of the United States should be brought into closer contact with every state, and its decisions used as common law, with equitable and charitable interpretation, to produce a much-needed general system of laws for interstate conduct and for

the organization of business relationship, so that petty jealousies and local antagonisms may not entirely blot out the foundations of our republican institutions.

There is no double standard of morality, but, by systematic education, the sting of demoralizing influences can be drawn and tendencies of the citizenry toward luxury, waste, imprudence, sensationalism, idleness, and unnatural tastes and relationships can be changed to a regard for impartial justice and charitable good-will.

Immorality as well as crime depends upon the intention and mental attitude of the general public or of the subject, so that what is in reality most beautiful and pure may be subverted to most demoralizing and debasing purposes. But to a pure mind all is pure, just as to a debased mind all is impure, which proves conclusively the value of symmetrical universal education for the active employment of every man and woman in some congenial and elevating sphere of activity.

It is error to oppose popular opinion by statutory laws, which for that very reason are unenforceable and pernicious. Judges are confused and criminals escape the law and lawyers win most surprising verdicts, because statutory laws oppose public opinion or vice versa, which proves that the aim and purpose of all law should be to educate and train the public opinion of our citizenry toward industry, thrift, and an understanding of the fundamental necessities of right and natural living. All that is more than this is confusion, menacing the community with humiliating restrictions against much-needed scientific

and medical instruction, to mould mankind into more complete harmony with the laws of nature and of justice. Our Constitution guarantees to us the right of freedom both of opinion and of the expression of opinion, which is liberty, but because of the separation of liberty from order by our leaders we, to-day, are face to face with most unwarrantable invasions of our civil liberty, which, as a free people, we can never permit or suffer to become incorporated into our Constitution. Let us then go back to the common law, and back to the true fundamental principles of order and rebuild our temple of liberty upon these fundamental precepts and reconstruct our rules of conduct upon the foundations of equality and fraternity.

In these days of the evolution of progress we are rapidly tearing down and abolishing antiquated laws and usages, to install republican institutions, and to safeguard popular rights. We are destroying intolerance, servitude, greed, and lust for gold, working solely for the unity and well-being of the common people. Men of worth and men of action are coming forward in a great conflict, far more important than battles of nations where the object is to destroy human life and production, for in this conflict the struggle is for the upbuilding of character, for the increase of opportunity, and for the preservation of the race.

Great men do not seek popular applause, for the hours of service are too few, and reason must check the illusions of position and power, when our country calls to manly service. The foundations of our repub-

lican institutions must be preserved, we must carefully entrench every gain, and secure ourselves from every form of surprise and reaction.

We see to-day new men arising in power, piling up uncounted millions, deriving profit from the panic of the people and the waste of foreign lands. The press of the nation fears to act or to express any opinion until some certain ray of light and knowledge pierces the clouds of confusion. But every problem proposed must be solved. Our Government must hold the respect of every citizen, and we must find for leaders men of knowledge and love of liberty and order, disinterested in personal profit, yet able to administer justice and to organize the contending forces of industrial progress under government supervision, for never can we submit to power founded or sustained by corruption, crime, and evasion of law. The objects of government are to organize, to construct, to build up, aid, and regulate progress, yes, to criticise, reform, and improve existing institutions, but never to destroy those very organizations of law, order, and industry, which are the hope of our future resistance to foreign invasion of our rights and privileges.

No despotism or tyranny shall rule in America, and tyranny is the danger from the power of wealth. Every man who can bind to his household the sweat and labor of other men is, to that extent, a tyrant, whether he rule by love or whether his gold hold his subjects in unbroken bonds. The alternative of popular revolt, demagogism, is more savage and dangerous, so that it is most important that all the powerful organizations and combinations for popular objec-

tives be controlled by educated men of wisdom and culture; that forces of destruction and anarchy shall never be loosed, but law, order, and good-will to men prevail.

Unity and simplicity of plan are fundamental for every great project. The hope of preserving the great American Republic lies in the education of the people, rich and poor, bond and free, and in the useful employment of every citizen, so that none shall be forced or permitted to prey upon society. The objectives of law must be educational and corrective, to make opportunity, and furnish a livelihood, for we can analyze every criminal as a degenerate, in which case he must be pitied and suitable institutions and care provided; or as an outlaw, and outlawry arises from the lack of education, or from some subversion of education. Such affliction can be corrected through change of environment and the substitution of service and nourishment for want and hatred of society. The misfortunes of our nation have sprung from the degeneracy of popular understanding, where some groups of men or sections of the country have stagnated while others have advanced and far outstripped them. In the conflict of human forces, intelligence, discipline, foresight, and science win, but most important are the ability, willingness, and opportunity for every citizen to apply his labor, under educated, organized leadership, with trust and confidence in his superior officers. The time has come to insist upon confidence, good-will, and co-operation, and to banish the trouble-makers, who see only conspiracies and intrigues. Admit that honor is due to labor,

and that labor and education are the two foundation pillars of our society.

Now, then, of foremost importance is the unity of capital and labor, that the feuds of wealth and poverty cease, and strikes and wars be relegated to the annals of past history. Yes, a remedy must be found; men of thought and action, we call upon you to dodge this issue no longer, but bring forward and put into execution some reasonable methods of arbitration, and deal with your fellow Americans as brothers with brothers. Of equal importance is education. Mere learning and book reading are nothing, but education is the science of right living and development of human productive capacity. Every child is entitled to proper education as his birthright, and this Government must to that extent overrule the claims of parents or any institution, to control childhood education, for our national life must be preserved, united in Truth, Virtue, Liberty, and Patriotism. Problems of tremendous importance are presented to-day in the necessity for the immediate restraint upon immigration and the protection of the American workingman, so that Americans shall not be put out of business by foreign competition, but that our common people may have living wages. This is the only way to preserve our democracy from the perils of oligarchy, for accumulated wealth must be viewed as a menace to popular rule. The ancient policy of avoiding foreign alliances, and the Monroe Doctrine of "America for Americans" must be upheld. We cannot permit ourselves to become embroiled in any European controversy, although we may aid dis-

tressed peoples, and stand for fair play and righteousness.

All desirable fields of business operation must be kept free for competitive activity, and justice and government protection are needed for the strong as well as for the weak. We must uphold honor with justice, temper our charity with good-will and service to mankind, and educate our people to unity, thrift, and Godliness, so that they see the light of truth, to organize and develop a republican government, of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Beautiful, sublime, and expressing the most lofty conceptions of noble thought, the Spirit of Liberty has budded and flowered in America, in the grand principles of democracy that underlie the Constitution of our Republic, embracing freedom of the press and civic policy, freedom of speech and assembly, freedom of religion and conscience, and freedom of political life and individual conviction. These priceless jewels are now our heritage, and it is to defend, maintain, and preserve them that every true American will pledge his life, his fortune, and his sacred honor.

Our Puritan ancestors landed upon the barren and rocky New England coast, upon an inhospitable, cold, and hostile shore, enduring such hardships that half their number perished the first winter, and can we look upon that sacrifice with calm thoughtlessness, as we see them taking the oath, that as soon as one hundred families were banded together, they would found a college, where their children would learn of

the greater things of life and would found a nation for future generations.

During the summer of 1776 the Continental armies were driven by successive defeats from Long Island and New York across New Jersey, into Pennsylvania, where Christmas Day found them poorly armed, half-starved, insufficiently clothed and provisioned, and in desperate straits; but their spirit was unconquered. With tattered rags for clothing, with kerchiefs and cloths tied around the feet for shoes and stockings, and leaving trails of flowing blood, that gallant army marched through a terrible storm of hail and sleet back to the conflict. On that awful night, when none but hardy, determined men could even endure the storm, through driving snow and cutting wind, they crossed the Delaware River in small row-boats, and their watchword was "Liberty or Death." Frosted feet, hands, and noses were ignored; patriots died from the terrible voluntary exposure of that fearful night, and their frozen corpses littered up the line of march, but victory crowned the toil of that valiant army. At Trenton they captured the Hessian troops with the greatly needed supply of provisions and arms, and new hope was instilled in the hearts of the Continental armies, at this most critical period of the American Revolutionary War. Thus were laid the foundations of our free, non-sectarian public school system, the marvel of the age, the melting pot for all nations, amalgamating every race and creed into the free, liberty-loving American citizen, and promising to every individual absolute personal freedom. Thus were laid the foundations of

religious Liberty and the open Bible, of the American spirit of fair play and good-will to all men, and of the free press, free speech, and free civic policy of our nation.

But while the Puritans worshipped, their muskets were stacked, close at hand, loaded for warfare. The minute men of the Revolution, even while plowing the fields, were prepared to rush to arms, and General Washington prayed at Valley Forge, with his sword in his hand and the saddle upon his charger. To-day we cannot afford to let our coasts be undefended, nor risk the invaluable heritage that is ours by reason of the sacrifice of life and property of our ancestors. Be assured we are not free from danger of invasion, for there are criminal nations ready to levy blackmail, and to attack any defenseless land for plunder, pillage, and slaughter. The navy of Great Britain has saved her from the cruel blast of war, time and time again, and we must maintain such an adequate power at sea as to be able to destroy any invading army before it could reach our shores. "America First" must be our watchword, for eternal vigilance is the price of our spirit of liberty.

A certain young man invested his all in business; and the storms came, and he toiled and worried day and night. His powerful competitor stepped into the home to crush his puny opponent. Glancing about the room, he placed his hand upon the man's shoulder, and said: "I will assist you through this winter's hardship, and spring will bring you success." A sickly wife smiled, and the face of a helpless infant brightened, as clouds of darkness and dread

were riven by the sunshine of hope. The most bitter foe, overpowered by kindness, becomes the staunchest ally. To gain the "Good-will" of your adversary, that is **THE GREATEST VICTORY.**

The political arena of every nation is divided into the conservative element against the liberal element. Minor questions come and go and are either accepted as part of the institutions of the nation or forever forgotten, but these two contending forces will last as long as governments exist among men. In America, both the Republican and Democratic parties are essential to our continued progress and one acts as a brake upon the other. The Republican party has always favored a centralized government, being a rule by representation, rather than directly by popular vote. There is a tendency to favor the increase of the power of the President, his cabinet, and all appointive officers; the favoring of a strong national banking system and a high protective tariff. It is a good thing for the country to have these ideas kept prominently before the people, for, just as the sun, moon, and stars are held in position by repelling and attracting forces, so the elements of our Government are constructed and operated, and the position of the balance wheel maintained.

Opposed to Republicanism is the Democratic party which stands for the power of the people, the welfare of the workingman, and the direct popular vote. While the Republican party has always stood for an increase of national expenses, Democracy stands for economy, prudence, and an elastic currency. A tariff for revenue only is insisted upon,

for more revenue can be obtained from a properly balanced tariff than from one which prohibits; but while the principle is right, the Democratic party has not been fortunate as yet in the application. The most successful tariff reform will undoubtedly come through a competent tariff commission.

The Democratic party stands for a progressive income tax, for a moderate army and navy, for a policy of national economy, and for a strict interpretation of the Constitution. The last plank is assuming great importance these days for the people are clamoring for equality and fraternalism. We need fair play and good-will in business and the protection of American workingmen in every line of industry. Blessed with peace and prosperity, the United States of America proves that both republican and democratic institutions furnish security for life and property, and give opportunity for industrial progress and commercial development. Our constitutional rights are safeguarded as never before, freedom of thought and freedom of speech have triumphed, class distinctions have been further removed, and the rabid attacks upon business, upon corporations, and upon the wealth of the country have ceased. We are back to the fundamental principle that it is the prerogative of government to develop, advance, and regulate business, and not to harass, confuse, and destroy industrial systems. The regulations of civil service are well in force, and the greatest men of the nation are silently and thoughtfully guiding the ship of state in the best and deepest channels of trade and prosperity. Our public schools, universities, libraries,

churches, hospitals, and asylums, all give the best care possible to health and morals, and prove that an era of good-will has dawned in the wisdom of diplomacy and peace.

We admit there are still many important questions. Some claim we must hold the Philippines permanently, for commercial reasons. But in whatever way we solve that problem we must protect our Monroe Doctrine of "America for Americans" and avoid every foreign complication. Our own labor organizations need our thought and protection, that foreign trade influence shall not check our progress. "The Constitution and the Union Forever" is the motto of the new Americanism which has arisen during the last few years, and the keynote is brotherhood and good-will to men. A world tossed about by the tempests of the perils of reconstruction looks to us for guidance and relief, and we will not fail the anxious nations, for we have within our own borders the proof that popular government can be successfully established and maintained.

The world has a standing advertisement, "Wanted: the man able and willing to accomplish results." Rome was a mighty nation while her people toiled, fought, and encouraged thrift and industry; but when slaves and idleness induced vice and corruption, her days were numbered. Self-supporting ability of every citizen is the greatest asset of a nation, and we want neither idle rich nor idle poor. Every day an army of young men enters the industrial contest and success always rewards energy, trustworthiness, punctuality, and dutiful service, provided bad habits

and evil companions do not interfere. Banish the doctor by temperance, the lawyer by thrift, the politician by honest ballot, and warfare by good-will, and rid society of the curse of strife and extravagance. Stick to your business and your business will stick to you. Success is never won by a brilliant dash, but always comes after consistent, persevering effort; courageous men turn disappointment and failure to profit, and every successful business man can point to many a day when he faced bankruptcy but fooled his creditors into renewed confidence. The man who does not know when he is defeated generally wins, for adversity arouses invention, prudence, skill, and fortitude. Do instantly whatever has to be done and grasp immediately every prospective opportunity. Make it a rule to do a service for another on every possible occasion, for you can never injure yourself by favoring another. Give your employer more than he is entitled to, and pay your debts before they are due, and so win a reputation for efficiency and good credit. The man who perpetually hesitates accomplishes nothing; it is the man who dares who wins. Practise contentment and industry and never waste time on doubts and fears. There is no luck, for all great discoveries are made by men who are looking for something. Let your only ambition be to be right, for the courage of conviction cannot be conquered. Look for beauty, and never notice discord or wrong, except with the purpose of correction. Never speak an unkind word, think an unkind thought, nor do an unkind deed, but let brotherly good-will rule every action, for the true end of right

living is service. Bind your friends with bands of steel so that they can never escape, for what richer blessing of life can we imagine than the whole-hearted love of brotherhood, which may not end with this life but may add the richest beauty to life eternal.

Reformation is not a new idea, but laws of capital punishment are still in force, although the many individual writings of the day give hope that the public will speedily act upon these important matters and make the aim of law to be justice and the end of punishment to be reformation. This means a revolution in our criminal laws and procedure, if not in fact a revocation. Laws are a necessity to society, but in the strict application by judges, criminals are often unpunished and examples are made of the mistakes or carelessness of men acting without criminal intention, whereas one of the most fundamental theories of criminal law is that without criminal intent there can be no crime. History will show that the greatest men of every nation have been lawyers who have dedicated their lives to protect the unwary and innocent. Law is a code of principles, active, and living rules of conduct, upon which government is based. Law not only must protect the weak but also the strong. In the strict enforcement of law great injustice may be done, and the purpose of the greatest good to the greatest number not served. One instance is the case of Grant and Lincoln. Grant was accused of drunkenness, but when a group of reformers urged this against his appointment as general of the armies of the nation, President Lincoln replied:

“I wish I knew the brand of his whiskey, as I would give the same to other generals.” Common sense teaches liberality, and the greatness of a man is shown by his slowness to condemn and his quickness to forgive.

Hardened criminals are really insane persons and the effect of punishment is barbarous and temporary. Penitentiaries should also be reformatories where prisoners should be continually in contact with good books, with moral teachers and opportunities to improve mind and body. In England, once there is a trial by jury, the case usually ends, unless the Crown sees fit to pardon. The quality of mercy is better than the quality of victory by appeal and error. President Lincoln won the good-will of the nation by his forgiveness of unfortunate soldier boys. When he was urged to have a youth executed for throwing down his musket he said, “I am undecided whether he will serve his country better living or dead,” pigeon-holed the complaint, and a good soldier was won for the nation. There are very few men who cannot be readily brought to a useful life with proper assistance and advice, and any man who does not respond to such treatment is mentally deficient and should be classified as criminally insane.

What a field for service this idea of reformation offers to rulers, to judges, to physicians, and to public leaders to render service to society! Who can estimate the value of every citizen thus reclaimed?

We have half a million prisoners in this country, so the problem is one of great importance, and in every case it is the business of the State to heal the

broken-hearted and never to cast him down into deeper disgrace and shame.

Upon a beautiful crescent of flowers in one of the greatest cities of the Middle West was pictured these words: "Life is worth living." Many Americans are too selfishly engaged in the mad scramble for wealth to do justice to patriotism. To seek wealth for the sake of accumulating money is the lowest ideal and the only worthy excuse for striving to increase wealth is to increase the ability for service to humanity. The lust for gold destroys character and manhood and causes the great waste of national resources. Even the motherhood of the nation is being drawn into the dangerous whirlpool of emotional unrest, and it is only a return to the old-fashioned family altar that can save American wives and sweethearts from sweatshop slavery and political jobbery. The greatest peril lies in the luxurious life of inactivity for some, and the strain of increasingly intense hardship for many, which spells decay of a hardened citizenry; and the great duties of our national life cannot be performed except through the virtue of the women of America.

Walk through the country and notice the inefficiency of efficiency. Many an aged farmer stands at the gate of the old, dilapidated home and tells how the young men and women have gone to the city and have been swallowed up in the modern lure. No money, spent to produce beautiful, serviceable highways, is wasted and we want broad roads, and may well plant fruit, fruit trees and nut trees of every variety along these great highways open to public

use. Then turn our attention to the fish life, the bird life, and the animal life. There is no reason why every stream, lake, and river should not teem with fish and game, and deer and rabbits be plentiful in every field. Make life upon the country estates profitable, for it is a necessary step in our national progress to increase interest in intensive agriculture, where, in the realms of fresh air, bright sunshine, and good substantial food, the stock of American manhood may hold its own and indeed find that life on the farm is worth living.

The principles of brotherhood imply that a spirit of good-will shall exist which must never be violated. One brother must never take advantage of nor defraud another, and every brother must give another brother encouragement on every possible occasion. Is there a little oasis in your life, a little green garden upon the desert sands of time, some good work you have toiled to accomplish and crowned with success, some kindly deed done for your friend or even for your enemy, which has made the world a little brighter and increased good-will among men? What a pleasure it is to look back over such periods of service, and what an incentive to do helpful, friendly acts at every opportunity to befriend a brother, so that none shall suffer for the lack of brotherly kindness. Courtesy costs nothing but pays highest dividends, and bread cast upon the waters will return buttered. It pays to make friends, to keep friends, to have friends, for there is a value to the friendship of every business man, of every organization, of every individual.

All true Americans must subscribe to the principles of brotherhood and patriotism. Win every enemy for your friend, that is the best way to dispose of hostility. The civilized world is shocked by war because it violates the principles of brotherhood and good-will to men. Think of those who should be brothers giving all their time and resources to the purpose of exterminating manhood. Every individual must agree with every other individual that each should have the opportunities of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and likewise every nation should so agree with every other nation. Does not such a thought approach the millennium, when spears shall be beaten into pruning hooks and swords into ploughshares? With patience and perseverance the progress of individual justice must advance, and in the future we will shackle and destroy cunning, deceit, and ill-will, just as we to-day repudiate the old-time principle that "might makes right." Publish far and wide the good-will of the brotherhood of men, and lay the foundations deep for future progress. Happiness and confidence are contagious, and industry, knowledge, good-will, and trust are the elements that go to make prosperity. Internal dissension is a destructive force, and the great object must be to maintain our nation as a united people. Favor no one but boost everywhere and business conditions will steadily improve. What more attractive proposition can be presented than "Good-will to Men," the idea presented by "Brotherhood"?

If America means opportunity and recognition of ability in the sharp competition of the business world,

how important it is that every honest and capable citizen who is willing to work should have a "square deal." Both in our individual and national life the tendency of Americans is to forget the necessity for the conservation of our national resources; often quality is sacrificed for haste and vast quantities of products are destroyed because of the lack of regulated production. While we regard human life highly, we do not so regard men's honor, reputation, and ability, but often these prerogatives are ruthlessly demoralized. In the maelstrom of activity, fortunes are often lost as well as made, and men who rise quickly to high responsibility, with equal haste are deposed, thrown aside, and forgotten in the mad rush of betrayal, condemnation, and disgrace. Self-supporting ability for every person is the most valuable asset of a nation, and second in importance is a system under which every citizen with the ability of self-support can have the opportunity at hand of useful employment at living wages. The instability of business institutions, where ninety per cent. of the new business houses fail, gives rise to a lack of respect for age, for virtue, for achievement, and for honor; and the mad rush proceeds, regardless of the principles of honesty, of righteousness, and of fraternalism.

Systematic protection of Americans in business, in politics, and in salaried positions is necessary in order to accomplish the greatest benefit to the greatest number. The recognized owners of the nation are Capital and Labor, and there should be no room for those who do not and will not work, but insist upon living on their wits, for such men form colonies

of educated thieves to prey upon society. The only remedy is to compel every citizen to have a registered home and occupation, for no individual is so insignificant as not to be worthy of governmental attention. Let there be a square deal for Capital and a square deal for Labor: have a square deal for the rich and the same for the poor: likewise, a square deal for the producer and a square deal for the consumer. Every statement by an American citizen should be presumed true unless positively proved false, for the most dangerous tendency in America to-day is the tendency to disregard and violate the personal rights of talented men at the instigation of any politician, attorney, or irresponsible person who, for sensational or vindictive purposes, makes the accusation. Meanwhile the accuser, to be free from responsibility for injury to his innocent victim, need only show some reasonable or probable grounds for suspicion. This is not justice, and there is no greater national need to-day than the "square deal" issue for every citizen.

The Flag of America stands for the rights of men, to shelter the oppressed and to fully guarantee to every citizen Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. Other flags may have a glorious past, but the Stars and Stripes stands for a glorious future. It is the bud of promise for generations of men fighting for freedom, for a living wage, and for opportunity to advance the cause of humanity. When the band plays "The Star Spangled Banner" stand with uncovered head, in reverence for the principles for which our flag stands, and whenever and wherever you

come into the presence of the Flag, take off your hat, for our hopes of righting the wrongs of men are symbolized by our feelings as we honor our National Emblem.

Returning travelers meet the Flag with tears of joy, as they see again their own land, and the emblem that is the banner of the people, and not the insignia of emperor or king. We cannot too often renew in the hearts of the youth of America their reverence for the Flag. In public buildings, in public schools, in churches, upon highways, and in the home, at all times, it is more than mere privilege, it is the duty of every American, at every opportunity, to do homage to Star-Spangled Banner.

The success of a republican form of government depends upon the recognition and reward of every man who stands for the eternal principles of human brotherhood, and counts it his privilege and duty to work, always with the welfare of his fellowmen in his heart, to fulfil the ideals of a government of, by, and for the people. It is important for all students in the public schools to learn a little practical law and politics, so as to have some idea how the Nation, State, and City are run, and why we continually struggle against evil in high places, against political privilege, graft, taxation, and tariff problems, and dangerous decisions by judges and those in authority. During the period of character formation for our children it is the prerogative of our public schools to develop broad-minded, progressive, democratic views of social problems, and to destroy all elements of bigotry, hatred, vice, and greed. This

is the training for citizenship, so essential for every child, and in future years the beneficial results will appear in the clear understanding and solution of many of the present-day problems, which we cannot meet and cannot remedy because of the narrow-mindedness, prejudice, racial affiliations, and clannish proclivities of so many citizens who have as yet only sipped the cup of the deep, altruistic principles of true American ideals. But, thanks to the teachings of our public schools, the future will prove that somewhere upon the grand foundations of patriotism and national welfare every youth and maiden, having learned the lessons of life and the principles of right living, will rear his or her temple to the flag of righteousness, of purity, and of freedom, Old Glory, the flag of the United States of America.

We believe in Business. Good Business—Profitable Business—Systematic Business. Let us have confidence in the projects of business men who know their business, as against the expression of opinion by persons who are ignorant of whys or wherefores, but who speak generally for the purpose of attracting attention to themselves or to some impractical hobby. Too much law is more dangerous than not enough law, for lawyers, politicians, and unscrupulous business men use laws to gain unfair advantages. As to the principles of law generally, every righteous judge is influenced by the law of common sense as to what is right and what is wrong, and the law of greatest benefit to the greatest number. The danger of democracy is that statutory law may so far stunt and destroy enterprise as to make any kind of leader-

ship so dangerous that the greatest inventors and organizers can never receive meritorious advancement and recognition. In business as in war we must have leaders and support them, and give them fair opportunity to develop their plans and reap the rewards of their labor.

Consider equal rights, equal privileges, and equal duties for all and take to heart the old adage: "Judge not that ye be not judged." Respect the views of others, for if America means opportunity and recognition of ability in the sharp competition of the business world, how important it is that every citizen who is willing to work should have a square deal.

There are three steps in the advancement of civilization, the acquisition and accumulation of wealth and property rights by force; the acquisition and accumulation of wealth and property rights by cunning, and the acquisition and accumulation of wealth and property rights by honesty, by ability, and by beneficial service to others. Let us show respect to youth as well as to age, to service as well as to ability, and to virtue as well as to achievement. Unite every race and creed into one homogeneous, self-reliant, magnanimous community and altruistically live together, in peace and prosperity, each respecting the views and opinions of all.

Far into the depths of truth our learned leaders have delved and what was formerly mystery now is knowledge. Still never let us surrender our ideals and convictions, lest the understanding of truth pass from us. The echoes of the past are not vain fancies, for where is the dust that has not been alive? As

the blasting fiery meteor, sunk in the earth, is but a stone, so wise men are known for dullness, and the fool for his wit. Innocence and ignorance are poor choosers. Rather know the truth and the truth will make you free. Society can never organize as a corporate body except under the leadership of men of exceptional ability, whose influence, moreover, may be quickly shattered by unjust criticisms and mean, underhanded attacks. Let us determine to reap the benefit of the service of our great men, as the new slogan reads: "Sell your hammer and buy a horn."

It is the duty of Americans to support and assist every enterprise of America. The variety, beauty, and good workmanship of our productions are not fully appreciated by our citizenry. It means something to spend years in the public schools and colleges, and people everywhere must look to men of American principles for the highest ideals and for the biggest and most valuable service. Don't discount American tradesmen, for they are the best, and will give honest work. Don't discount American employers, for they need honest employees and are entitled to have every employee take an interest in the business and consider the welfare of his employer as his own. Let the dead past bury its dead and for the future look to the United States to lead the world. Put forward our best. Trust your future to Americans and you will make no mistake.

In these strenuous times, when we are rushing forward with rapid changes, it is our bounden duty to consider the foundations of our Republic relative to the institutions we are building thereon. As every

citizen appreciates and participates in the government, class distinctions are further removed and the political life becomes more of the people, by the people, and for the people, and both capital and labor better understand the needs of our national and social progress and more of the action and reactions of industrial competition and co-operation. Discontent of the citizenry means lack of sympathy with Government objectives, but in a new land such as ours there should be no difficulty in maintaining a high standard of living, keeping the complexities of life as simple as may be, without lowering standards of morality. As society continually draws new recruits from the lower classes, it has been our policy always to allow men absolute freedom to do and be whatever they please, it being fundamental, however, that no man shall so use his own property as to injure others, but the rights of every individual shall be recognized and respected. What best fulfils the needs of our social nature, our physical nature, our mental nature, our moral nature, and our religious nature must everywhere and at all times be equally balanced so that there may be no disastrous reaction from unsymmetrical advancement. The modern reform seems dangerous to many conservative people, but without change there can be no progress, and these men are all working unselfishly for the uplifting of our republican institutions, now so securely rooted in the hearts of the people.

Workmen in every trade have less cares than the employers. The plant owners must take their pay in credit and yet pay all employees in cash. The

employers must erect new buildings and plan the productions for a vast, immediate profit, where the value of permanent investment is doubtful. Among nations we hope for the day when wars will be no more. Between capital and labor we hope for the day when strikes will not be called. Ways of peace leave no ill will, no suffering, no destruction, and American workmen, these days as never before, should study labor conditions, study problems of employers, and work for the welfare of America. Patriotism demands that every citizen be industrious, thrifty, and peaceable. Every industrial clash, no matter how small, is a national loss and reacts upon every individual citizen. Every ounce of strength and profit, added to individual efficiency and capital, is also added to the sum total of our national resources. Labor revolts, because of the individual losses and destruction they involve, should be avoided. There are better, more modern, and more efficient methods. The wheels of time grind slowly but they grind exceeding small, and constant persistent effort wins popular good-will and assures the final result in the most beneficial form. Great objects cannot be permanently accomplished in a day, but with patience and perseverance the progress of Justice will move forward and keep in step with the advancement of all industrial interests of America.

Nothing so draws down the blessings of heaven upon mankind as the Spirit of Fair Play inducing contentment and peace, order and safety for the commonwealth. Even for the most worthy purpose, to destroy the vilest evils, unrighteous weapons of

attack or defence should never be used, but let the victory come through righteousness and good-will. Justice never exaggerates a fault, Charity overlooks defects, and the best friends of civilization are those who increase peace and prosperity. There are some accusations against which no man can exempt or defend himself, and the only defence is to ignore the accusation and live it down. But Fair Play demands the recognition of industry, justice, and charity, and that judgment should never be passed adversely upon the motives and intentions of public-spirited men without proof of facts. Give credit to the self-made man and to those who raise magnificent structures, and reward service with approval rather than with criticism. It is a glorious work for a man, starting with a small beginning, to establish his business and spread his influence far and wide in useful service to his fellowmen. Fair Play demands great liberality, and instead of envy and strife, let us give assistance to every effort and add congratulations to every successful venture.

Vast wealth is evidence of greatness, just as great learning is an element of culture. Many persons, who cannot be wealthy, avenge themselves by proclaiming that fortunes are acquired by dishonesty and graft. Others who cannot acquire education claim that learning stifles service to our fellowmen. The true benefactor of the race, whether rich or poor, is the man who makes two ships sail where only one sailed before or who increases thrift, personal efficiency and production. What a delightful world this would be if every person applied the golden rule and lived and

toiled only to increase the sum total of the happiness of all. It is self-sacrifice and not love of glory that reveals the nobility of the human soul. Our deeds build the foundation of our lives, and we must not only all move, but all move forward, and all move together. Strive to eradicate ignorance, disease, and persecution from the race and in their stead encourage equality, fraternity, and that richest pearl of life, Liberty of Thought. The chain is no stronger than the weakest link and the vanguard of the army cannot move forward until the rear guard catches up. So we must have moderation in all things, even in progress, so as to avoid any violent reaction. The army of culture and race welfare must constantly entrench and conserve every gain. Each stranger within our gates must be cared for that none may suffer for the lack of brotherly kindness, thus accomplishing the greatest good for the greatest number.

Make your life profitable. Have we any right to exist in this world as ciphers, without increasing the wisdom of the heart, the learning of the mind, and the usefulness of our being. Constantly build up the great sources of power, both mental and physical, so as to be better able to perform deeds of service to others and to resist and overcome all evil propensities. It is the province of wisdom to control our passions, regulating them by moderation in every pleasure, in every sorrow, and in every struggle of life. Yet avoid the other extreme, for we cannot admire the cold, hard, unsympathetic, cruel type of business man, but rather it is necessary that power be tempered

with mercy and service with charity toward all. Men are frail creatures, and the most powerful man with the loudest voice will often fall just when a little more patience and perseverance would have won the fight. It is the spirit and mental poise that after all win the battle, and mental poise arises from deeper thought and more scientific control of every passion.

Hope is one of the great virtues, and must not be confused with overconfidence, rashness, ambition, pleasure, or joy. It partakes of cheerfulness, trust, faith, and confidence and links the past and present to the future, to furnish proof that in spite of human frailty and the power of evil, all things are working together for the uplifting and betterment of the race. Happy are they who can combine Charity and Humility with Hope, for such persons will never have cause to say "All is vanity and vexation of spirit." There are dark periods of despondency and gloom in every life, but these only furnish most convincing proof that we should habitually cultivate every pure, generous, and amiable characteristic of our being. Hope brings serenity, happiness and benevolence, and binds together the golden links of the chain of human events. The warning to every young man is never to mistake overconfidence for hope. Test every plank before you walk on it and never enter a hole where you cannot clearly see your way out. "Safety First" is the safest rule to make certain that hopes will be realized.

May we never permit covetousness, greed, and envy, to destroy our respect for men who have rendered service, and who are truly entitled to reap the rewards of their labor. It is high time the American

nation, as a united people, give their undivided attention to the study of the economic forces of construction and development, of manufacturing all commercial commodities, to conserve the energies of each individual citizen and bring him to the highest degree of efficiency possible. If we are to discover any practical solution of our social and economic problems, we must first scatter and find employment for the hordes of capable men who to-day reap an easy living because of the dependence of our industrial and commercial enterprise upon the peculiar vicissitudes of political activity, where reason and judgment are dethroned, and where gold is the oil which heals the deepest wounds, and keeps in motion the rusty, ponderous machinery of civic government of the people and by the people and for the people.

Right living is a complicated but interesting business, and good-will, consisting of charity for all and malice toward none, as Lincoln puts it, is the essential factor of friendly and beneficial relationship. Good-will has at its foundation the recognition of the fact that we are not alone in the great human system, but we must regard our fellowmen with benevolent justice and sincere impartiality. Boost, don't knock; encourage, don't scold; build, don't destroy; give yourself and don't spend all your life in taking from others. The man who speaks his mind opens the door to criticism, but better to meet controversy than to stunt the intellect. Recognize every great American industrial development and business enterprise as only another cornerstone upon which to build

our national prosperity and work to increase public good-will toward business and business good-will toward labor. We need publicity to-day along political and social lines and our business men need greater business protection, consideration, respect, and good-will, so that industry may flourish and increase, and not be handicapped by thousands of petty and useless annoyances. The word of a business man of America should be considered as true until it is proven false, and business should not be hampered by series upon series of long reports and investigations which are destructive both in their inception, conception, deception, exception, and final ineffective results. Even when success is attained, the country suffers because of the destruction of some beneficial line of occupation and in addition pays a long bill of useless expenditures. It is pleasant and wholesome to be influenced by men who have a feeling of the dignity and value of occupation and industry, and who extend to every working fellowman a similar conception of his worth and importance. The philosophy of the American is that we must hurry at times, that we may not be unprepared at some critical moment later, but the ultimate object is always to save time, to eliminate, to systematize, to accomplish, and to increase self-reliance, will-power, and the results of labor. It is right then to stand for the advancement and progress of every business interest in America. Extend everywhere to all men the spirit of good-will, fair play, and assistance whenever and wherever possible, and the bread cast upon the waters will return again to you after many days.

With absolute liberality and justice to all men, we must take our stand for the United States Constitution, otherwise we may not maintain our broad-minded unity of Nation and State. It is well to understand that the Constitution of the United States of America comprises, firstly, laws and regulations for the government of this Union directly, and secondly, indirectly stands as a codification of rules of order and liberty in the government of every individual State, for each State has its own Constitution with which to govern its own affairs, subject to the laws and amendments of the Federal Constitution. The small republics which arose in medieval times in the various States of Italy, Greece, and Germany all fell because there was no broad-minded unity respecting the opinions of all citizens. As Theodore Roosevelt has said, "We do not wish in politics, in literature, or in art, to develop that unwholesome parochial spirit, that over-exaltation of the little community, at the expense of the great nation, which produces what has been described as the patriotism of the village, the patriotism of the belfry." It is such a spirit as has kept all South America in revolution for five centuries, and this same spirit, for a much longer period, held all Europe in the chains of ignorance, superstition, and disorder, so that no fair-minded, liberal laws could be enacted; and Europe then finally threw off this yoke of bondage, only to fall into the snares of imperialism. Therefore we see that it matters not by whom, or against whom, discrimination is aroused; it is by its very nature undemocratic, and therefore un-American, for our Con-

stitution guarantees to every citizen life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness without qualifications.

Immigrants from Europe have attempted to introduce into America anarchy, imperialism, and divisions of the State and national unity at various times, but our great American commonwealth can never countenance any division of our unity in favor of any class, sect, race, or condition of men, but does and must require absolute fidelity and allegiance of all to the free principles of our American Constitution. We fought the great Civil War to retain our unity and for recognized principles of freedom and justice. The poorest immigrant admitted within our borders is entitled to the fullest protection of all our laws of liberty and order, and it is absolutely necessary to restrict immigration, so as to treat every nation alike in the right of their citizens to enjoy immigration privileges, subject to laws necessary for our own protection and self-preservation. Therefore, the main qualification of every applying immigrant should be that he take out first application papers of citizenship, to make this land his home, so that if the applicants for immigration privileges by our laws are undesirable or prohibited from citizenship privileges, we may also refuse them immigration privileges, and admit them only upon special State laws, to give them business or representative privileges. It is necessary to meet every question that can possibly arise on this dangerous question, for our nation must present to every friendly power uniform laws on immigration, and no separate State can afford or be permitted to violate or jeopardize the spirit of absolute fair play of our

American Constitution to every land, nation, and people.

Original genius is always better than imitation, and if Americanism spells anything it spells American home rule, service, and American initiative. We can look back a few years and see the highest American society ladies fondling French poodles, modeling Parisian gowns, and playing scenic revelries direct from London, but how are the mighty fallen, when our robustly patriotic citizens hail America as the leader of new ideas. The day has come when an American who ceases to be an American loses his personality entirely, and when we ask what principles a man stands for, we see him proudly swell out his chest and say "Americanism," as if all was said and performed by that magic word. First and last, this Americanism means more for America than any idea ever yet in our history presented, for it includes unity, fair play, and a square deal for all Americans, regardless of nationality, creed, color, or political tendency.

Here is the principle, "A man is a man, to be measured by the labor he performs and the service he renders to society and to America." When the hammer strikes the blow upon the nail, it rebounds, and when the pendulum swings over the perpendicular of the fulcrum, the swinging force will carry it as far beyond, for to every action there comes a counter-action. It is the part of Americanism to catch and dissipate the recoil of patriotism, and provide a healthy unity of thought and freedom against discrimination for all Americans, so that none can say a square deal was not accorded. When the rough

places are made smooth, some high points must be ground down, and the low places filled in; some must suffer and some must toil; wealth must decrease that poverty be relieved, and capital must arbitrate in order that the recognized labor may be treated as leading men, leading living men. The problems confronting us on this question of Americanism have already brought us into untried fields, where we cannot find precedents with which to square and measure our work, and we thus are driven to the use of the word Americanism to designate the American progressive thought.

There is much more to this new thought than the French phraseology, "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," for it covers the thought that every citizen must learn to think, to speak, and to live in terms of American unity. The foundation of true Americanism is useful service, and the present-day demand is for every citizen to measure himself by the square of his accomplishments for America and prove his worth. A poet or writer may find he has swayed public opinion from the paths of discrimination and waste to new patriotic thoughts of justice and righteous conduct. The laboring man will find his daily toil has increased the sum total of the wealth of his native land, and he should render his efficient labor with the object of the welfare of all classes of citizens in his heart, and not use his organization to upset the normal status of trade so as to bring benefits to some at the expense of many. The leaders of industry and commerce may count the gain through organization and system, for their highest purpose is to

increase organized efficiency and business co-operation. Likewise let the statesmen and professional craftsmen judge themselves and say, "Well done, we also are necessary and useful members of society."

Then for a moment leave this pleasant field of ideal Americanism and study men organized to antagonize healthy political, social, and industrial unity. Too often men of highest birth and educational privilege mingle with outcasts and hopeless vagrants, like as the hawks and wolves of forest and plain. We have a right to ask the labor agitator, the political organizer, the wealthy club leader, the gamblers, the criminal hordes, and all who are the drones of business or society, what excuse have they for such conduct and why they cannot discover in their own lives some worthy ideals for the upbuilding of society. They berate the reformer for trying to reform too much, but the test of the worth of the reformer is his capacity of hardy moral and physical courage to stir up righteous indignation against every form of injustice in a practical, sympathetic way, and plan out the cause, the effect, and the remedy. Neither faultfinding nor criticism can be classed as reformation, and neither gossiping nor display is an element of culture. So we will add another side to Americanism and call it the culture of efficient service, requiring that every American engaged in useful occupation in any field of accomplishment, whether he toils in the ranks of labor or racks his brain in avenues of statesmanship or of some useful profession, be rated as endowed with this basic component principle, which we have described as "Americanism." One other element of

this Americanism must not be overlooked, and that is the mental qualification to recognize and stand for what is right, without fear or favor, and without bias or reward. We do not look for any great moral strength in a man who needs to be paid for doing his duty. The man who asks reward for righteous conduct will also accept reward for criminal neglect of his civic obligation. There is a patriotic, broad generosity in this new spirit akin to the resignation of the soldier of self-sacrifice, when necessary for the defence of his country. Therefore, as we endow ourselves with this new virtue of Americanism, we say in very truth: "To the maintenance of the integrity, strength, and unity of our great American commonwealth we pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

Can there honestly exist in the mind of any American citizen an impression that the foundations of Free Institutions in America are not firmly rooted in the hearts of all the people? We must never accuse without reason, nor condemn without cause: there is but one ideal, that of fair play and impartial justice, that confidence and good-will shall reign. The enemies of a nation are those who seek by delusive promises to estrange the workman from his employer; to array section against section, race against race; or to stir up any form of dissatisfaction, hatred, or suspicion among the people. The strength of our free institutions rests upon the fact that we recognize no class distinction in America, but all men are equal, differing only in their qualities of intelligence, effort, and fortune. Throughout the entire nation there is

but one ideal of honor and respect for the rights of all who have made this land their home, and we look with pride upon the youth of America, trained for a glorious future.

What evidence has ever been produced that any American citizen has repudiated our ideals? During all our history, the people have chosen on every occasion National and State leaders, capable of the highest public service, and we may well be proud of the men who have stood before the world as Presidents of this Republic. We have not lived on theories, but by achievements, and our statesmen have been men of deeds, and not merely eloquent expositors of impossible impracticabilities. The American people want facts, and they demand and will have safe and conservative public service. We have spent a century in developing this country, building roads, and establishing industry and commerce. Our land abounds in the best hospitals, the finest charitable institutions, and free public schools. Our Constitution guarantees life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness to all, and never can the foundation stones of free press, free speech, and free assembly of the people be moved. The flag of a United Nation floats over these United States, where the deeds of heroes, who gave their lives to establish and uphold these emblems, are blazoned in letters of gold. Well may we declare every American citizen a man of integrity and honor, and our people devoted to justice, charity, and education.

Who can be a judge to say to the American business man, "Thus far shall you go and no farther"? Each

must so use his own and so conduct himself, as not to injure his neighbor, we admit; but how can we embarrass business by restraint of freedom to contract, to buy, to sell, to manufacture, to trade, export, import, or to use and enjoy the products of the arts of men? We do not want one law for the rich and one for the poor, nor laws which may be the source of partiality and favor. National revenue is a necessity, and as a government, by its very organization, protects property, the stress and strain of maintenance should rightfully fall on the owners of property, real and personal, and especially upon inherited wealth, which does not represent the toil and sweat of the holder. The object of laws, and the powers to enforce laws, must be to regulate and guide business affairs and rules of conduct. Every leader will be judged by the standards of common sense and business-regulating ability. Men are wanted who can instinctively plan wise and efficient government administration, and who will be true representatives of government functions, exercised by, for, and of the business men of America. We need have no fear for our free institutions, for every heart beats true, to uphold the Constitution and the Flag forever.

But it is most essential that we think of Our Country as the field for service to our fellow citizens, and never think of these United States as a bunch of grapes from which we can squeeze the graft of delicious wine into our own individual drinking cups. Our nation faces greater problems to-day than ever before in history, and the only safety lies in keeping the control of State and National legislative bodies in the

hands of the business men of America. The primary purpose is to advance and increase the industry and commerce of these United States, and the secondary purpose is like unto it, to keep all American citizens thrifty, industrious and contented, with confidence in our leaders, to protect Americans in business. The era of the business man is here, and the welfare of our nation depends upon the stability and volume of our trade and productions. Band together, stand together, work together, business men of America, and success awaits you. Hesitate and delay even for an instant in these perilous times, and you may commit America to policies destructive of industrial efficiency. Every patriotic American must now stand pledged to support the Constitution and the Flag, with confidence that America will again ring true to every national need, that Righteousness and Justice shall move over the nation as a mighty stream, and Virtue, Liberty, and Patriotism triumph throughout the land.

WORLD POWER

UNPRECEDENTED industrial opportunities have opened the whole world to American enterprise, and the bank accounts of American laborers and farmers prove our prosperity. New and fair laws now take the place of oppressive and unreasonable rules, repressing intelligence and freedom, and free trade is now almost universal, resplendent with new opportunities both in commerce, manufacturing, and agriculture. We have in America the best blood of England, the best of Germany, the best of France and Spain, the best of Holland, and a little training will marvelously develop our efficiency and individual worth, the study of the present hour. The colonization of Holland covers forty million subjects, the conditions of life of every one of whom is better for centuries of peace and prosperity. History discloses that Spanish rule was at one time almost world wide, but failed because of reasons we may well notice here. The modern rule must be democratic, mutually co-operative, and beneficial both to subjector and subjective, and the Spanish civilization was none of these. The wealth which poured into Spain during the Middle Ages lulled her people to sleep, stopped all inventions, and destroyed liberal thought. The easy profits corrupted all classes of society resulting in idleness, waste, greed, and prof-

ligate living. The office holders banded together to accumulate wealth and retain public charges for incompetent family members; the soldiery engaged only uncivilized peoples, and forgot to learn from progressive neighbors. The ships of the navy were obsolete, old, and of little value in battle, even though bristling with guns and decorated with royal colors, for the sailors were sluggish and incompetent, and the ships unwieldy and useful only for parades. But most important was the fact that free institutions had been blotted from this people, because of bigotry and antiquated laws. The elasticity of social life faded into political tyranny, and their commercial monopoly was lost. People after people established independent governments, and the homeland, deprived of dominion and power, was left only the pride of ancient family and the glories of a past history.

While the civilization of Spain failed for its inherent weakness, that of Germany failed because of its lack of ability to adapt itself to changing conditions. The central thought, however, of personal study and development of each citizen has fallen to the American Republics, where, unburdened of monarchy, it will produce a permanently successful standard of the rule of individual efficiency. When kings and emperors with their favorites united in a huge military machine so powerful as to vibrate two hemispheres, when enthroned might by force of arms declared a divine right of emperor and dominion, every strain of Democracy bristled in rebellion, to shake off the dread shroud of darkness. Not that this culture of efficiency is lost, for it is only planted by a master

hand, and the thought, nurtured and watered in Democracy, bids to solve the problem of popular rule. Government by military power can never be permanent, because, except for an ability to wage war, the soldiery has no economic value; the individual citizen joins the military caste to evade duties alike of home, state, and world service, and while the burdens upon the people increase, the application of their strength to economic problems is swallowed up in accumulated preparations of supplies and armaments. Thus Imperialism bows to Republicanism, and mankind admits that men ruling men must govern with constant consideration for the upbuilding of character and development of opportunities of the governed.

Under the French Republic broader social principles arose, and France showed remarkable tact and intelligence in the management of bodies of men. The Colonies are represented in the national council, and skilfully and with perseverance North Africa, Central Africa, and Indo China are being not merely subjugated, but organized under French leadership to modern developments. France is extending her republican principles of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, and working with quiet confident zeal, that the present complicating perplexities will all be successfully solved. We hear little of the truly remarkable success of the French Republic in colonization, but France stands second only to Great Britain. She sounds no blare of trumpet, no martial air, no parade of insignia of Royalty, but the French Republic has truly risen from the ranks, a self-made

people, and the world to-day with astonishment views in France a people of intense patriotism, of the highest national ideals, who with all the other competitors, true to civilization, reaps the reward of persevering labor and industry.

The most wonderful development of world power has been built up by Great Britain, and all peoples acclaim her success well-merited and above reproach. Two great reforms laid the foundation of this empire, the abolition of slavery and the almost absolute independence of every dependent people in respect to their local self-government. The rule of man over man was never so elastic, so liberal, so free from tyranny, so resplendent with the spread of culture as developed in the free institutions of Australia and Canada, and the conservative justice to India, Egypt, and South Africa. A great family of commercial dependencies grew up, self-defending, self-supporting, and self-governing peoples, content and satisfied that even popular rule could never bring such blessings as the partnership trade alliance with this great industrial and commercial empire, of which every land was a component recognized part. So broad is the colonial influence that it is doubtful whether Great Britain rules the colonies, or the colonies rule Great Britain, but the effect is the same, the almost perfect understanding between the Mother country and every colony. The great trade routes of the United Kingdom must be guarded against hostility, so that the navy is held to an efficiency at least double that of the most powerful neighbor, and the homeland acts only as the hub of a huge wheel, a central

guiding power. England an Empire is essentially almost a republic of republics, for in no case is the rule by might nor by power, but expressly by the consent, if not in every case by the will, of the great majority of the inhabitants of the dependency.

The world is growing better. Not an ounce of civilizing power is lost or destroyed, but has spread the leaven of good-will to men to every clime and to every race. Denmark, Italy, Portugal, and Russia are playing their national parts and the Grand Republic of the United States of America has directly applied its influence to advance and increase globe civilization. This old world of force, anarchy, hatred, and strife, even from the red-heated furnace of conflict of all nations, looks forward as never before to universal peace and good-will to men. The present war admittedly results from an attempt of military power to expand by force of arms, whereas civilization decrees that not by might nor by power shall expansion come, but by co-operation, intelligence, and field development. Every commercial line is now open to the American Republics and it is not a matter of experimentation but of achievement. Throughout almost the entire civilized world to-day men are equal before the law, and broad pathways to wealth, distinction, and service are open to rich and poor alike, for men are measured by their personal characteristics and ability for service, the development of the mind and the physical prowess of the body. No condition of socialism in the sense of dividing property is offered, but the best element of socialistic promise, that of individual opportunity to

develop the capacity to surmount difficulties and assume responsibilities, is retained in the new business confidence that has awakened every land and people. The plan of reconstructing world business carries with it democratic self-government for all peoples, as fast as they attain ability to produce and select capable leaders. The days of oppression, tyranny, and exploitation are past, for the fittest civilizations survive and encompass the world with doctrines of altruism.

THE REALM OF REVERIE

REVERIE is the most boundless and restless faculty of the human mind. Its realm is the earthly paradise of the soul, where, entirely free from all mortal restraint, it wanders through glassy glades of pleasure, sails on every ocean of renown, and accomplishes innumerable deeds of valor and favor, all without effort or fatigue, without fear of disappointment, without chance of failure.

We seem to live a double life, one of food and drink, of waking and sleeping, of constant effort and action; the other of thought and imagination, of hopes and fears, of dreams and reveries. The life of action is our carnal life, in which we must take advantage of existing circumstances, to provide and care for our bodies. The life of the intellect, however, reaches beyond our earthly existence. There, forgetful of cares of this world, and the limitations of our power we may glide on, even beyond the influence of time, and in an hour's ramble live a glorious past and future. To describe this realm of the mind, boundless and eternal as it appears, would be impossible, except that there are certain conditions in life which lead the mind through all its labyrinths, certain definite causes which must produce definite results. There is a spirit in us which arrays the thing we dote upon with colorings. Our Reverie then is the per-

sonification of ambitions, of thoughts, and imaginations.

When we conceive a plan which we hope may bring success, how often in the hours of sleep we carry out every step of our design. The mind seizes the idea in fondest grasp, examines it from every side, and tells us it cannot fail. We follow as fancy leads. In imagination we toil on with miraculous strength and vigor and most remarkable results, until we reach the height of our desire. All is plain before us when we sleep, yet when next we meet the morning light and the clear plain of activity, difficulties unforeseen arise, and we forget the means by which we found success.

The second cause of involuntary mental action is ambition. Ambition is but the expression of that spirit of hopefulness with which nature has endowed us all. It is the spirit that says, "I can and I will." In active life its presence cheers us and urges us on to greater efforts. But during the hours of repose it carries us away to ideas and results impossible of attainment for our limited powers, and leaves us only when it reaches the limit of our imagination. Though we realize the impossibility of its aims, still we always feel a renewed hope, and have a pleasant anticipation of some approaching good fortune. The spirit within us is stirred and calls for such investigation and action as will mould out the man.

A common form of fanciful thought is that which arises from the deep consideration of some subject just before retiring. The excited mind remains active, even though the body rests. Free from re-

straint, it still moves on in the same general channel, and often conceives ideas unthought of before, yet brilliant in expression and form. Many mature persons use the midnight hours to grasp some hobby theme. How precious to them is that period, just before repose, when the body sleeps, but the mind, on fire with deepest thought, soon finds expression for its deepest purpose. In just such dreamy moods many a man has found most sage ideas, poets have written the sublimest thoughts, and writers caught the theme of history.

Imagination is still another form of Reverie. It borrows from past and present to brighten our futures, and gives to all men many hours of pleasure. The young, by its aid, ponder future hopes; the old people find delight in deeds and thoughts of days forever flown. How often we see that far-away expression creep over the face of one of our friends. In spirit he wanders in the land of thought, following some favorite project. Now a glimpse of the realization of his desire brightens his features, now some thought of failure overshadows his brow. How the old people love to sit in an easy chair and recall the activity of the past. They live again a life, but a life only of good deeds and successful career. They rub their eyes as the spell breaks and come back to us feeling that the pleasant hour has not been entirely wasted.

These are some of the mental pleasures of our life. Unceasingly the bright horizon of hope gilds a cloudy sky, and the anticipation of some future, which may be even now within reach, urges us on.

Now the ideas, conceived by the restless mind, astonish us; now the echoes of imagination, as we are borne along on its tide, delight us with recollections of hope. Each faculty of the mind lends its aid to prove that old proverb, "Every man has hopes, as each his destiny."

Thus as time flies, thoughts come and go, some in our wakeful, some in our dreamy hours, but we must snatch them as they speed along, for once departed, ne'er do they return. There lies before us that boundless realm of Reverie, a land of pleasure and enjoyment, charming us with thoughts of success and triumph, and alluring us with promises of delightful freedom from every care. Even now at its portal stands Eternal Fancy arrayed in her glittering, changeable robes. 'Tis her duty to invite us to enter; it is our privilege to accept her offer, if we so desire.

THE DOOM OF MONARCHY

THROUGH mysterious ways, like the rushing of mighty waters, the principles of human brotherhood flow through the channels of the concourses of men, and as this world is made a safe place for democracy, we hear the deep, resounding echoes of the last call sounding the doom of monarchy. The superstructure of republican government, founded in fraternalism and equality, has now reached man's estate, as solidarity and strength are gathered by united peoples, who realize that their shackles are of their own forging, and that they have within themselves the power to resist evil and establish good, the right and ability to consolidate and cooperate, that free institutions shall not perish from the earth. In the United States, in the presidential message of December 2, 1823, President Monroe separated America forever from the strife and turmoil of Europe by declaring that this hemisphere would henceforth be no longer a field for European colonization and exploitation. The rulers of Europe saw the perils to their prestige and autocracy, but were powerless to resist united peoples, and resigned North and South America to popular rule. True, in our life-and-death struggle for unity in the War of the Rebellion, Napoleon III succeeded in setting up in Mexico a monarchy under Maximilian, but our Na-

tion never recognized Maximilian, and the Republic of Mexico soon revived, when we insisted upon the withdrawal of European armies from American soil.

Monarchy decreases in power, prestige, and authority, as the average intelligence and patriotism of a self-developing people increase, and adopts a self-sacrificing attitude toward political privileges. Monarchy has held its field of operation immune from attack, so long as it could absorb or destroy every intelligent reformer and popular leader of thought and action whom it could not compel to bow the knee to Baal, but when the power to decree the death or exile of political enemies and hostile leaders was lost, monarchy could no longer defend itself against insidious foes, and even from far Siberia the world was publicly shamed by the appeals of outraged, exiled students whose only crime was to attempt to develop true social progress under a monarchical régime. And thus the materialism of the past has gradually merged into a world-wide social revolution, as sovereign peoples actually control entire government resources, and place popularly elected rulers in authority to mould their destiny.

The mere act of revolution, however, is but the outward cloak of the progress and growth of nations and individuals, which has accomplished such far-reaching results. Behind all this is the increase of the average intelligence and personal liberty of men, and the call of the wild to Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. Before it is yet a broader fraternalism, whose fields to-day we investigate and whose air we breathe only in theory, where no longer will demo-

cratic society be organized to enrich men in money, but rather in talents, in service, and in honor. As the young are educated to the principle that the most laudable citizen is he who intelligently assumes and skilfully cares for the greatest responsibilities; as the glory of labor is recognized; as truth is separated from falsehood, we will attain a new republicanism, where our patriotism will not evaporate in forensic oratory, but every citizen will strive to outdo his fellow men in service to man. There is no charity in a sharp business deal, where the unwary are robbed, and those who plan intrigue and evasion of law enrich themselves and retire to a lair of infamy and oblivion. Wealth is a curse to such men, for while money may be a measure of service, an instrument of service, an insignia of service, it is not, nor can it ever be, in any sense of the word, the summum bonum of life. So under the rule of the monarch, even though power and honor may be the insignia of service, there is no honor when a dynasty holds to its members unearned robes of State, for democracy decrees service the measure of honor among men.

Every thinking man, according to his training, associates, and environment develops opinions, a consciousness of right and wrong, and true loyalty to ideals and convictions. The growth of these opinions and ideals is not merely evolutionary but involuntary, local, and gradually subject to change, provided the subject still retains the power of reasoning thought. The mind of a child is elastic and open to training instruction and reason, whereas the mind of a matured person is seldom open to argument, and in this

condition, monarchy entrenched its authority, for, once being established as a necessary guide and central governing prerogative to a people, independent thought was always curtailed, for virtue wore the purple robe. And there is a virtue of oligarchy and autocracy as well as of democracy, for virtue is a relative word, and as we broaden in our endeavors to see the light of truth, we will find ever-new phases of social privileges and duties, devolving upon every man, woman, and child, so that each should meanwhile patiently run the paths of service before us, content to await the evolution of ideals.

As monarchy held sway by the development of each individual unit annexing his talent to its central power, so democracy must increase among the people by affording recognition to talent and genius, wherever they appear. Men must sink all political and social differences under a republican régime and be judged, classified, and approved for character, for wisdom, for their training, and for efficiency, capability, and deeds of service. Men detest that selfish, domineering military spirit which sinks the national existence into the abyss of military caste and dominates the passions of men by the rule of the sword. But if militarism could be restrained and confined to its friends, and lands and peoples under its blight be left to rot in their degradation, the world could ignore this evil; but never can the military be at rest, for its very life depends upon the confiscation of the property of honest toilers, and when once a military caste is established, all citizens seek this life of ease and decoration, and those who fail to attain its ranks, of

necessity become serfs and underlings. As monarchy is the natural ally and form of militarism and materialism, so democracy is the divergent antithesis, established upon the rights of all men to organize in equality and brotherhood. It is easy for an armored car to devastate fields of grain, to destroy thousands of unarmed, peaceful men, women, and children, to destroy the security of life, rob men of all they possess, and reduce them to slavery and serfdom, but the power of mighty arms is becoming mighty unpopular to-day as we speak in a soft whisper to the iron-clad, stern-visaged, gory monarch, the theme of a brotherhood of high and low, rich and poor, bond and free, and in shame he hides his face behind screens of hardened soldiery, for none can answer the riddle of the rights of man; and monarchy totters, and kings and emperors seek refuge from the consuming fire of the wrath of the blood of innocents destroyed by the lust for power. Universal war to gain universal peace; devastation and destruction to shackle forever the mighty forces of oppression everywhere, are the sacrifices required of every free people, that this world shall be made a safe place for the engendering, nourishment, and growth of free institutions.

Monarchy has proven itself a moral pestilence, has disgraced its adherents before all the world, has proved itself undeserving of even temporary toleration. As we seize and imprison the criminal, who, with bomb or weapon, seeks to destroy property and life, his mental faculties deranged by inborn hate and degradation, so must we deal with monarchy, which conspires with the armed forces of military caste,

trained and educated to bloodshed and terror, their hearts hardened and blind to sympathy, truth, and righteousness, ready to design and command every power of destruction, every poisoning and wasting influence and passion among men, employing every art of man in destroying the arts of men, and in the destructions of men themselves. This consuming fire among nations must be quenched, that men may come out from the grimy clouds of darkness, cease to sing the song of hate, and listen to the sweet command of peace. Again the dull beating of heavy hearts quickens the sublimity of the splendid sympathy of lofty sentiments of a universal brotherhood, to which even the haters of men, although hardened and shocked almost beyond redemption, are welcomed as brothers. The famished souls pant to undo the wrongs against humanity by increasing blessings and usefulness to a weary world. The little birds sweetly warble and the immense, harmonious universe declares that thought and service were meant for the whole world, and none are lost in the great design of the destiny of the race. There is a royal blush to the blush of love, a princely sublimity to the sentiments of brotherhood, a noble beauty to the universal equality of men that transcends power, station in life, and rôles of conquest. And thus monarchy falls; the rule of the many transcends the power of military caste, and the Emperor steps down from his throne, and becomes the peer of the humblest citizen, and to him the power to rule is denied except he rise to office by the acclamation and consent of a sovereign people.

INDIVIDUAL FORCES

SOCIETY is the association of individuals in development, and government is the association of individuals in organization. The hope of civilization rests upon the constant upward evolution of social and industrial efforts of men in their self-development; and the weave of the entire fabric depends primarily upon the freedom of each individual to develop his personal power, skill, and temperament, along lines of his best adaptability to social service. We must have an infinite variety of individual development, and yet through governmental adjustment, constantly fit every individual into his proper sphere of action in the organized industrial society. The individuals are the woven threads, and the government is perfect and strong as every individual is properly trained and developed, so that every individual weakness is a weakness in the organization. Here is where all socialism misses the mark, having the right ends in view, co-operation, good-will, and equality of all, without the proper means to the ends, which must be the individual development of each citizen as a manly force, to be one of the units of the organization, with well-defined powers of initiating action, and accomplishing successful final results.

Individual forces must be organized firstly for self-

development, and secondly, for communal or co-operative organization, to accomplish the needful equalization of conditions. In organization for self-development, every individual, under our constitution, is entitled to privacy of home life, and personal independence of thought and methods of work, for organized government can always present to men ultimate objectives and ideals, but must never insist upon individual subjection to set rules and regulations by which to attain these results. The individual habits, home life, dress, customs, and conscience of the liberty-loving, self-developing individual are incidents of his freedom of choice, freedom to develop public-spirited patriotism, hobbies, and talents, and his freedom to enjoy privacy in his personal life. Beyond this self-development is the social organization. Here we find the forces of adaptation of individual talents and training to social needs, so as to supply to society the individual forces needed to develop every proper field of human activity. There is no fundamental wrong doing in monopoly, and men cannot harm the state in the reaping, segregation of, or investing of profits, no matter how great or ill-deserved they be. The harm arises only from the spending of accumulated profits in profligacy, waste, licentiousness, and pleasure. Therefore, organized society needs not so much to curb profits—for profits are a measure of success in competitive fields, and stimulate men to desirable active service, as prizes to the winners—as to curb idleness, luxury, ease, and indolence, to keep every citizen actively employed in service and labor.

The toil of every individual man is an asset of our organized community, for every time one individual quits work, the total workers and resultant products are reduced one unit, and every reaper coming into the harvest field increases by one both the elements of serviceable units and the harvests garnered. Therefore, here are three elements of community success: individual efficiency, individual activity, and co-operative service, to develop and utilize the individual forces of citizen units, and combine them into a unity of representative thought and action, which we call an established government. And the true function of organization in government is to remove every unjust discrimination and every point of friction between its units, so as to direct the channels of individual industry and effort into avenues of public welfare, where the supply shall fill every demand, and the opportunity be given to, and the obligation enforced upon every citizen to render to his native land efficient service, and use every well-developed personal talent in such social and industrial activities as accomplish the greatest good for the greatest number.

THE PROFIT MARGIN

THE principles of good business are always new, yet old as the dealings of men with men. In business there is no new thing under the sun, for men have made and lost money for ages, and every man enters his business, his profession, or his life work, as at least a beneficial occupation. Some men value money only as a means of livelihood, the fountain of good deeds; others seek it to hoard and bequeath to future generations, to establish the family name. But whatever the alternative, we measure business success or failure by profit or loss, in the eyes of the worldly wise. In managing business, no element of chance can fairly enter in, but the selling price of manufactured articles can be determined by adding the cost of raw materials, the cost of production and the fair profits. If we desire socialism, let it be in form of a socialism of profits, that no business enterprise shall cause a direct loss. The only difficulty of such an experiment is that men would lose immediately shrewdness in bargain and in production. We need to make the profits commensurate with the demand for the finished article, so that the margin of profit measures the availability of the field for new business. Too much system not only destroys system but also ruins production, for there is no secret to good business, and what we need

is an industrial organization established along lines of open competition *in profit margin*.

This leaves no room for unfair practices and inferior goods, as it is a national objective to protect our business men, and see that every one of them makes a fair margin of profit, for every bankruptcy is much more a serious loss to the community than to the bankrupt. The bankrupt loses a heavily bonded business and is freed from all debts and obligations, while the gap in the business life of the community, the shaken confidence of business men, the instability of the produce market, caused by the short sacrifice sales of the auctioneer, the temptation of middlemen to buy and sell for spectacular profits rather than restrict their energies to honest production, all reflect on the business community and create unstable and unsettled conditions. Therefore to maintain proper industrial relations, we need established profit margins firstly, and secondly, markets and advantages of distribution, capable of absorbing all products, so as to avoid over-production in any line. We can readily see that business is in the first place simple, and in the second place business, and all that is more than this is harmful, for the object is simply to take the manufactured articles to the centres of distribution at predetermined profit margin, and render to the business man a fair profit, and to employees fair wages.

The great aim of business is to secure the most consistent development, and we have been especially superficial in educational lines, for it is an injustice to pupils in our public schools, to leave their life

training entirely to teachers, who are sublimely ignorant of every problem of life, industry and business, nourished in calm protection against every discomfort and trial. Rather let men who have weathered the storms of life teach young men from their storehouses of experience, and place our young ladies under the tutelage of women, who know that life is real and earnest. Efficiency breeds efficiency, service breeds service, and knowledge from experience has a peculiar assurance of reality and worth. Worthy men must be trained by worthy men; life is more than sport and knowledge, and a study of life and things as they are, far transcends in importance any study of how things ought to be. The most important element of business is persistent effort and constant industry, and do we emphasize this principle in our public schools? Our scholars turn from opinion to opinion, and await the hour when they will lead men, without the least understanding of how or to what they will lead. Nothing resists persistent efforts, and that is how faith removes mountains; but thought without action is as dead as faith without works, and have we not emphasized too highly, in our public schools, thought without action, information without application, knowledge without wisdom? Persistent effort has tunneled under rivers, measured heights and depths, navigated every sea, and explored every land. The student who learns life is he who toils while others attend games, he who reads to discover knowledge of the arts of men, he who takes notes of sermons and clippings from magazines, and stores up for the future brilliant deeds.

As a grindstone sharpens an axe, so reading should sharpen the intellect; so exercise should strengthen the muscles, so experience should prepare for business success. Master something and conquer by steady, persevering effort, despising trickery and fraud. Do we teach our youth the honor of earning success? Encourage self-reliance, manliness, initiative, independent action. Life is no idle game, no stage where we amuse, not a splendid delusion, but a stern reality, where life begets life, and earnest, applied energy increases business results. Specialists are needed everywhere, men who know how to do something, men who have mastered every detail of their trade or profession, men who have learned system, obedience and hard work.

In caring for the nation's business we place upon business managers the risk of failure, to eliminate the inefficient, so as to keep the control of productive forces in the hands of men of superior personal ability. Business success depends upon able management, efficient labor, and good judgment in purchasing materials and selling products. Special temporary profits accrue to those who patent inventions or improve business methods, and it is better for the trade to give the ingenious inventor the larger profit margin, than to urge him to lower the sale price, commensurate with decreased productive cost, and so drive competitors from business. Rather the effect is to force competitors to purchase the patent rights, and then sale prices can be lowered to conform with a reasonable profit margin, allowing for the value of the rights patent. The supply both of labor

and raw materials and the market of consumption do not rapidly change or shift, except as exceptional circumstances interrupt the regular course of business, and in many instances, profit-sharing with employees, and the methods of coupon redemption with consumers, have produced harmony and good-will. But in general such methods are harmful, for with consumers, they detract trade from the uniform average into special channels, and with employees, dissatisfaction is created, because the margin of extra profit is variable, depending upon the good management of the employer, and whereas, while wages are high, increased exertion may result, when wages are lowered, the men are quick to blame the management. Also systems of progressive or profit margin wages cannot conform with regular employment rates, and dissatisfaction is aroused either with the preferred labor, or with labor similarly employed elsewhere, so that in the long run simple, plain business methods bring the best results.

Government ownership of special business service lines is not an impossibility where the development of the field is permanent, so that a complete monopoly is established, and the nature of the service is national, so as to create a condition where standard prices or rates are beneficial. There are insurmountable difficulties in organization and management of ordinary business by government ownership, for individual enterprise and freedom of management and detail in the control of men, in the control of markets, of supply and demand, in investing capital in new fields of operation, and in new plants of indus-

try, are essentially lost in government ownership. Initiative must spring from a struggle to succeed, and unless the monopoly is such that there is no need for initiative—as in telegraph lines, railroads, post office, and army and navy affairs, where the national monopoly is already complete, or in cases of patent rights, copyrights, and national foreign markets, where the initiative is provided in the regular fields of individual development—government ownership cannot even be considered as remotely advisable. Socialism does not reckon with the problem presented by diversity of occupation that no man will choose to scrub decks when the alternative is to wear the uniform of rank, and to force men to work by compulsion is a reversion to slavery. To divide men into graded classes is contrary to the very essence of socialism, which rightly bars caste, so that we are forced back to the law of individual advancement according to efficiency and merit. We are forced to establish grades of employment according to talent and ability of men, and if any equalization at all can be considered it must be an equality of wages for like grades of work.

But the greatest difficulty would appear in the impossibility of eliminating incompetent leaders, for great masses of people under a socialistic rule would never choose leaders for competency, knowledge, or fitness, but solely for social standing and popularity. We find this weakness in politics to-day, for politicians immediately discover that to maintain popular good-will is the great keynote of success, and they all scurry around to find competent assistants to do

the work, while they study every fickle frailty of their constituents. Then supply and demand must be adjusted to changing conditions, and who would decree the change and how would decrees be enforced? We are therefore driven to the conclusion that all such rambling Utopian plans are purely visionary and impracticable, and people find in private business the necessary initiative and incentive to genius, toil, and efficiency, combined with full freedom for experimentation and individual development.

Society has the right to regulate the profit margin if necessary, to furnish a satisfactory supply of a given commodity at a reasonable price. The control over supply and production cannot be abused to the extent of depriving the sovereign people of the necessities or luxuries of life, neither can competition be suppressed by the economic forces of wealth, so as to destroy the pressure of new capital upon established industry. But we need not fear permanent results from every temporary crisis. When we fear that monopolies will corner all the wealth of the nation, the question is what will they do with wealth when they get it. Re-invest it in what? They cannot eat it; they can get no benefit from accumulated wealth, except as it is returned to fields of industrial activity and used to guide labor to achievement. When all prices rise, wages rise, and accumulated wealth from profits re-enters the field constantly to destroy the accumulated wealth there invested. This at once lowers interest rates, and increases the cost of raw materials, so that in proportion to the extent that

wealth is accumulated, its power is lost. Real value can be measured only in merchandise and commodities, in human efficiency and intelligence, for money is merely a variable standard of measure, so that all popular fears of monopoly, of a rule by invested capital, and the subjugation of democracy to oligarchy, are unfounded and impossibly remote, and every such action bears within itself the seeds of reactionary forces, whereunder individualism again conquers, and the sovereignty reverts to its source. Every undeveloped industry needs protection to permit the progressive self-reliance of the people to assert itself, to diversify industry and utilize natural resources. There is no economic loss in developing the initial impulse for manufacturing, commerce, agriculture, fisheries, and mining, but, in reality, losses come in the stagnation of our people in antiquated lines, where they cannot see either how to manage better or how to shift to new fields. We must have all necessary raw materials either by production or importation, preferably by both methods, and to say we must withdraw capital from all industries not self-sustaining is fundamentally wrong. If the temporary accumulation of hoarded money were the object of national life, granted that, we can ruin all our finer fields of production, upon which our future expansions must depend, in a great drive to concentrate our production where immediate profit is highest. But economic forces would then immediately shift again and a flooded market for these favored products would lower prices and wipe out all the profit margin. So we must confess that ex-

perience is the best teacher, and we must retain the principle of private management of business and competitive labor, to accomplish the greatest benefits to society, in the development of efficient individualism for every laborer, and a fair margin of profit for every capitalist.

THE MEASURE OF COMPETENCE

THE recognition of Merit is the true foundation stone of Democracy, for where merit is esteemed, an aristocracy is established from the people. The only variable number of the equation is the measure of merit, and by making the measure of merit efficient capability for service, we solve the problem of establishing successful democracy. The popular remedy for all ills is legislation, which in effect, like the patent medicines introduced by quack doctors, to a very strong constitution does little harm, and the United States may well be said to have a very strong Constitution. But the real foundation of democratic merit is not in enacted statutory law, but in the great fabric of common law and equity law, built up outside of legislative control and exemplified in the fundamental tenets of the Constitution of the United States. Personal liberty seeks its natural level, which is the greatest liberty each can enjoy commensurate with the welfare of all, and the statutory law expresses temporary and generally local determinations and emotions of a self-governing people. In monarchy individual freedom is menaced from above, but in republics the dangers of abuse of power comes likewise from the source of power, from the sovereign people.

The average citizen never studies political prob-

lems, although he does give strict attention to the party campaigns, but his denunciation or applause of his party is given strictly in accordance with the supposed personal benefits accruing to the friends of the local organization. Therefore, we see locality opposing locality and state opposing state, but to a mind of broader view these forces are merely active and retroactive, centrifugal and centripetal forces, acting upon the moving units.

In our own Republic there have arisen three great popular antagonisms, all of which are strictly undemocratic, from the standpoint of the rule of merit; these are: hostility to the military and police powers, hostility to corporate organizations of wealth and industry, and hostility to the judiciary and those in authority. Will we not admit that we have in our free institutions the summum bonum of righteous rule, and that no government can under any possible circumstances be successful unless founded upon these same free institutions? Men become infatuated with thoughts divergent from our liberty, because of the divergency, and not because of the independence and freedom from restraint, as declared in principles of socialism and anarchy. To those whose reasoning power is intact, the same fundamental principles upon which we have founded our liberties are re-deified under these nomens, with just as sweet a savor, while those to whom reasoning power is lost, wander oftentimes in a maze of unattainable ideals, because they have mentally separated mankind from the human. This is our democratic task to bring the nation back to earth, to learn husbandry, com-

merce, invention, and skill in arts and science, all for man's temporal welfare, for even a cup of cold water given to a thirsty traveller is greater than the most enrapturing eulogy of the dead.

In this changing order of the nation we are retracing our steps awhile to view again beautiful fields of grain, herds of grazing cattle upon a thousand hills, gardens green with vegetation, bays teeming with the white wings of commerce, and shores throbbing with the roar of machinery. With a democracy, the military machine and police force mean the preservation of systems of order and organization, where each citizen holds his own niche and toils as part of a commonwealth of industrious men. The corporate organizations of wealth and industry are not organized to coerce and drive men to hardship and oppression, but to arrange some system of progress, so that competition shall be only of efficiency in process and application, and shall not be degraded to an efficiency in destruction of competitors. There is no virtue in cut-throat practices, either for those at war or for those at peace, and the sooner the benefits of a sane, monopolistic control are recognized, the greater will be the accumulated prosperity of America. Abuse of power can only be temporary in a nation such as ours, and with patience we must respect and obey men of learning and character, who, in their judgment over disputes, strive to reach fair, unbiased decisions. If local public opinion applies unfair pressure to influence the independence of courts and juries, the opposition will likewise attempt to apply undue influence, and the battle become one of mental forces,

armed with crime and evasion of law. The obvious necessity of impartial, incorruptible judges needs no argument, for it is absolutely essential to true democracy. How important then that those in authority have strict obedience and respect, and if lawyers obscure justice, restrain them rather than, under any imaginable circumstances, use forces of coercion to make courts of interpretation subservient to popular prejudice and local temporary notions of right and wrong.

In subjecting a people to law and order, great tact is needed, and only by thorough discussion, and more often by delay until passions cool, can decisions be rendered and justice enforced. Rules and usages of business transcend statutory law, which is not made to destroy but to uplift, improve, increase, and protect business, individual rights, and privilege. Business development and growth are the result of experiment and struggle, and although enterprise is impatient of control, statutory law must be a law of restriction and protection in nearly every instance, for contrary laws are not needed—law being as oil upon the waters, to reduce the angry waves of storm, but performs no service upon stagnant lakes—except to destroy the creatures, developed in calm, prosperous seasons, to prey upon accumulated wealth. We must have control and counter control, checks and advances, successes and defeats; but ever, when defeat comes, accept it as the penalty for error; learn by the mistakes, and try again.

In this country big capital is required to finance big organizations with big men in control. But men

can live only a few years, and why envy them their service, and why deprecate their success, which is always so temporary and restricted? When an organizer builds up a plant, and departs from life, his living work again demands a living man at the helm, and merit is the measure of living men. There is virtue in system, in organization, in justice, in truth, in fair play, and honest right mindedness between man and man. There is error in the clamorous attacks against the foundations of law and order, in unscrupulous politics, in destructive business practice, in lives of luxury and ease, and in the words of those who prate against authority. Moderation in freedom is essential in every habit and avenue of business and social life, and we can best measure men by what we may well term "The Measure of Competence."

CIVILIZATION

AS THE bones of primitive animals embedded in fragments of rocks speak to us the history of the evolution of life, so fragments of literature tell of the evolution of government, which we call civilization; and the study of civilization relates to the habits, customs, manners, the culture, art, and literature of all nations, races, and peoples. The thought immediately presented is that no civilization, far in advance of the rest of the great human family, can maintain its integrity, and in every titanic struggle of barbarism against civilization, civilization has been finally conquered, and its forces dissipated to decrease barbarism, and act as new leaven to build up new culture and learning. America heretofore considered herself immune from attack, the herald of universal peace, the initiator of disarmament, in a world where Might has always ruled and Righteousness has always been cast to the four winds of heaven. But again Justice holds the sword of steel and lays aside the olive branch, to enforce her decrees against modern powers, weighed in the balance and found wanting. We have to admit we are still one of an unorganized family of nations, where each must be prepared to defend life and property by brute force, against those to whom no law or treaty is sacred, and neither the property nor the lives of neutrals are

respected in the zeal for conquest. As long as men take profit from the misfortunes and necessities of life of their fellowmen; as long as accumulated wealth means only luxury, ease, and profligate waste of opportunity; as long as men are measured by standards of caste and gold, instead of by standards of learning and service, so long will aggression continue and disaster overwhelm every nation caught unprepared.

The history of civilization to date has been a history of tribute exacted by temporal power and armed forces from industry, thrift, and toil. The wolf has been gorged with the lamb, and the lion with the fat young of the deer. And it takes an extremely visionary mind to prophesy how and when complete disarmament of nations can arise, until nations cease, boundaries are obliterated, and every man deals with every other man as a brother in service. History shows that the instant powers of civilization lose their superiority of armed force, wrong-doing triumphs over righteousness, for evil is always aggressive in conflict, while civilization reaches forward in a visionary attempt to trace paths of universal peace as the millennium of good. There is a warning to all Americans to avoid passive subjection to injustice, and to test out every evil thing and every foe to our free institutions, both to learn their base intentions and intrigues, if such there be, to sharpen our own wits, to strengthen our guard, and to warn the world that free-born men can fight, and to preserve their blood-bought freedom will gladly endure every conceivable hardship, and sacrifice fortunes and life itself upon

the altar of Liberty, rather than see the invasion of our free institutions, or submit to tribute.

Peace is unworthy if it means compromise; but we are a nation of individualists, for with us civilization has given more attention to individual development than ever before in history. And it takes courage to be an individual, to maintain one's idea of right, as we see the right, before the world. But the theory of our civilization, and the foundation of our liberty of thought and action, are that every citizen has an inalienable right to reach his own convictions and maintain them, and we reverence the views of a minority, but follow the majority lead. In a country at war the firing line may be the safest place, but otherwise with a country at peace, as we declare peace, for in reality there is not, and can never be peace between good and evil, between the surviving fittest and the defeated, between the perils of the past and the hopes of the future. And slow, industrial, insidious invasion is far more dangerous and usually precedes invasion by armed force, or rather where invasion by colonization and exploitation fails, or is admittedly impossible, there invasion by force of arms begins. This is a world of the survival of the fittest, and in order to survive we must be fit and keep in condition; we must take our part in world progress, as a leading nation, or with other nations hold and maintain a balance of power, constantly measuring ourselves by the rule of righteousness and justice, and exerting every influence we can bring to bear upon the peoples of this earth, to respect law and order, and submit to a rule of reason.

America has been called a sleeping giant, and rightly, for we now need solidarity and co-operation of all our States, of all our people, to suggest and adopt plans for organization to support our civilization, upon foundations which cannot be moved. This republic is not a fool's paradise, and we now know that armaments did not cause the great conflict, but if people had only clubs and stones, they would fight anyhow, only that one company of men with an armored car can disperse any conceivable, unorganized mob. Covetousness and jealousy, animosities, hatreds, and suspicions, hope for commercial and industrial expansion, and the lust for gold, breed the terrible horrors of war, and have these traits departed from the minds of men? And so we know and realize that, moreover, our preparation must not only be for the present, temporary, but for the future, permanent, and our civilization, founded in righteousness but with power to enforce the right and protect against wrong, must organize for self-preservation and never gamble with fate over the safety of our inheritance. And now we suddenly awake, and rush to arms, but fortunately not only with years of warning of, and preparation for, impending danger, but with powerful allies, for fortune has dealt kindly with our nation, and we are permitted to see the struggle and enter into the field of strife between titanic giants whose civilizations have conflicted, and between whom new treaties must be made and enforced, to declare how and where each may increase, develop, and expand. The great lesson we have learned is good-will toward individuals, which is

the first foundation stone of our new civilization of liberty.

The second foundation stone, which we must carefully set in place, cementing every crevice, is good-will toward bodies of men, corporate business, as we say. If the national defences are improved when a railroad builds a tremendously heavy bridge far beyond its present needs, to strengthen its line, increase the carrying capacity, and make itself an instrument of government aid in emergency, put it there, and let the public cheerfully pay and co-operate with big business.

When the powerful shipping interests ask public assistance in obtaining beneficial laws, never raise the cry of corporate greed, but give and take with them, and increase public good-will toward business. Grant favor to the farmer's grange, to the mechanics union, to encourage all our people in unity and thrift, and so lay this foundation stone of business co-operation as no people ever laid it before. The third cornerstone of our civilization must be universal military experience for every able-bodied citizen, and the co-ordination of all industries, under a plan whereby their usefulness can be studied, proper means of expansion suggested, and assistance and advice given wherever and whenever needed. We cannot afford to let any citizen be idle or escape service, but make service the measure of successful manhood, and every vocation a source of living wages, with opportunities of recreation and self-development for all. This is not an impossible task, for if every citizen is compelled to enter service and

perform duties to the State, congenial to his talents, and adapted to his physical and mental powers, all may be usefully employed, and the burdens lightened upon all the people. Moreover, universal military training will teach obedience to authority with decisiveness in action, and Americans will increase in spirit and co-operation. The fourth cornerstone to be laid is universal good-will and co-operation with all nations, as a national policy. Keep America for Americans, and evade every foreign entanglement, if we may, but make America a friend to man, a spender where good can be accomplished, an ally of truth, righteousness and justice everywhere, the heart and soul of good faith and fair play.

In the past, civilizations have sprung up in many lands, blossomed like the flowers of springtime, and scattered seeds of new thought and purpose into the lives of men; but our aim is to lay so broad a foundation for our free institutions that it can never be moved, and to accomplish such a result the extending arms of brotherhood must encircle the globe with peace, good-will, and co-operation. Our forefathers sacrificed much and endured hardships to establish this Nation in liberty, and the security of our civilization can be assured only through the unification of American forces. We must abandon commercialism and the lust for gold, and introduce an intense national conservation, not only of national resources, but of American Manhood and Americanism. Those who have led lives of reckless selfishness and shameless waste of the fruits of toil must take thought for the sufferings and rights of those less fortunate, and

keep the structure of society firmly established in justice, righteousness, and service. We have a glorious heritage of lofty ideals, founded in prudence and wisdom, and the prosperity and physical well-being of every citizen are relative to our civilization. Our forefathers dedicated this Nation to the proposition that all men are created free and equal, establishing a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. The history of civilization is not complete until we chronicle the facts that we fought the War of Rebellion to preserve this glorious union, that free institutions should not perish here, and we engaged in the War of Nations to publish and declare to all the world that we stand for the freedom and equality of all men, to break every bond and set free every captive, that the world shall be a safe place for Democracy, and that we may establish for all time the highest form of civilization yet known, the universal brotherhood of men, not merely as individuals, but in their co-operative fields of relationship, in their international conferences and alliances. . . .

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

THE Evolution of the State through centuries tends always toward some form of the universal brotherhood of man in theory, which in the State itself becomes restricted to its immediate members and in practice and results, throughout every page of history, we find each separated successful commonwealth, ever infatuated with its own sentiments of nationality and the political organization of its own nation, yet unable to appreciate the broader brotherhood of States, which is the science of maintaining friendly and economically just dealings and relationships with all peoples and governments. Every State by its inception is socialistic; however, the legislators of the past have always held it their duty to retard and subdue all socialistic legislation, which includes all legislation admittedly relative to the welfare of all individuals collectively, whereas to-day social legislation is looked upon with favorable comment, for the welfare of each and every citizen is relative to the welfare of the State, just as the wealth of every individual is likewise relative to the State or national rating.

There are two prerogatives of law, the term law being used in the broad sense to include Court decisions, statutory enactments, and the acts of Public Service Commissions; there is the law relative to

protection against crime, the law against breach of contract relation, the law of maintenance of order, system, and authority on the one hand; and on the other hand the law of social reform and progressive legislation, designed to upbuild public health, and the thrift, morality, and education of the people at large. Private property has always been sacred before the law relative to protection, in the sense that no man could so use his own property as to injure another. But with the broader social legislation, private property is regarded as a public trust, and a broader rule seems universally recognized, that every man who has property must use it for the welfare of all his fellowmen. Shall we decree that every child born in the slums must during his entire lifetime live in the slums, and finally die in the slums, and every child born a millionaire shall live a millionaire and die a millionaire, that some be born to spend a life of toil, and some of ease, or is it more democratic that every man be born to assume his equal proportion of national responsibility, and every citizen be encumbered with a duty to work for the welfare of all? If all are workers, none are shirkers; if service be made the measure of manliness, how our commonwealth will increase by leaps and bounds, how our people will be blessed with such prosperity as the world has heretofore never known. This is social legislation, and yet with this we must combine and maintain organization and respect and obedience to leaders and organizers; we must assure stability and permanence to every law, and preserve fair monopoly and political machines which will make their highest

objectives true justice and the rights and welfare of men. Is it not possible to maintain a commonwealth where the freedom of action of every leader and organizer is restrained and directed by the desire to develop, upbuild, and improve men, mentally, physically, and morally? The State is a political organization of human beings enjoying the conservation of common good; accomplishing the greatest good to the greatest number; weeding out drones, weaklings, and disturbers; encouraging and compelling men to toil efficiently, to save systematically, to spend and be spent, to study arts and science, to consider as the greatest enemy of the social organization the man who will not work, the man who shirks his duty to his fellowmen.

We have never yet reached a point where our legislation accomplishes universal justice, for laws which benefit one are almost certain to harass or work hardships upon others, especially if these laws of social legislation destroy vested interests; but the destruction is generally of stagnant hoarded wealth, and not of active business interests, and the community, rated as an entirety, benefits at the expense of a few members, who are well able to stand the loss, and to whom such deprivation should appeal as an act of patriotism. Sound morals arise as the result of hard work and sane habits of livelihood; nearly all immorality has its inception in idleness, profligacy, and waste. If every man, woman, and child are well-fed, well-clothed, and well-sheltered, what more can they ask, and is not such a national state of affairs worthy of attainment? Selfish and misleading in-

fluences tempt some people to aim to accumulate wealth for the sake of riches, to seek honor for the sake of social standing, whereas the truly great man sees in social service his measure of duty. Apply sound ethics to this thought of social legislation, and see that disinterested persons consider what is right to be that which maintains the industry, health, and welfare of every citizen. Here we find room to approve such advance progressive movements as bring to our cities commission government, as bring to women rights of suffrage, as bring to inventors protection in securing recognition, as bring to the physically or mentally weak the necessary protection, as protect business and industry, and ameliorate loss and disaster. We have advanced far in the last few progressive years, and the end is not yet in view.

Now the guiding principle is to measure every legislation by the rule of general social welfare of the people at large. The secondary principle is to maintain every man an individual working unit, a well-defined part of an orderly political, social, and industrial organization, where he will be necessarily subservient to authority. There can be no dissatisfaction if all are bound by the same rule, if there is no exception; in our human organization of State and Nation the trouble makers are the tramp and wealthy idlers, who have never fitted into a niche of usefulness. All conditions of radical improvement are defined within legislative control, and although human beings will not impose restraint and limitations upon themselves as individuals, they will both legislate and enforce restraints as communities, and the

new social science is the development of statutory laws, designed to cure social ills by legislation. The opposition of judges to social legislation is waning, and legislatures are directing their attention to common-sense business propositions, and laying aside theories, mysticisms, and chicanery. We can obtain freedom to contract and be bound by contract, without the bankruptcy of business men. We can enjoy freedom of press, thought, word, and conscience, without bigotry and agitation. We can appoint judges, who will justly decide cases as statesmen, and elect governors who will legislate fairly and impartially. We can do more than this, we can render to every man his due, preserve life and property, yet relieve all our citizens from oppression and social injustice. We can educate every American child to learn some means of employment in useful service, so that Americans will supply America and all the civilized world, if need be, with all the needs of civilization. And as we study social legislation applied to individuals, let us also study the broad international legislation of humanitarianism, and declare all men of all nations, without exception, brothers, entitled to justice and consideration. This opens the way to cure and blot out the sores of distress, disease, and poverty upon this globe, where men have suffered and endured so long, for we are on the threshold of a new era, the era of good-will toward men, the era of universal respect for the rights of all men everywhere.

GOVERNMENT BY REPRESENTATION

WE MAY call our representative government the modern academic rule of law-enacting and law-making bodies, elected or appointed under powers derived from the governed. As self-governed people are self-reliant and politically vigorous, they must exert their power of choice, and their self-reliant independence in the election of representative rulers, but when these rulers are once placed in office, their word should be a law unto the people, and obedience to their authority and law, the foremost duty of every citizen. Now shall such representatives be merely the chosen mouthpieces for the represented, popular representatives voicing the will of the majority of the constituents, or shall such representatives be members of a Government by representation, acting upon their own best judgment, as various unforeseen circumstances arise, acting as a substitute for the represented, to work out their welfare to the greatest degree possible, considering and always having in mind at the same time the welfare of the nation at large?

There is no question of the legal right of a representative of popular government to vote as he pleases, or rather to vote as his conscience dictates, so we pass to a subordinate question as to whether his constituents have a moral claim upon their chosen

representative, that his point of view shall not be contrary to their directions and expressed opinions. A majority power usually expresses its will by a *command*, and a demand that the chosen representative follow the set opinion and desire, generally carried by the political machine or organization; while the minority resort to petitions and letter-writing methods, to attempt to prove that the majority vote has changed and shifted from the controlling power to the independents. The representative, if public opinion has really shifted, may be tempted to vote to gain public good-will, but under all such questionable circumstances he should call in his reason and conscience, and vote only for the welfare of the State and Nation. But politicians agree that where a representative knows the body he represents would declare some decided stand or decision, even though he disagree with such decision, or with the aims of the machine whose views he adopted and under whose auspices he was elected, yet he is in honor bound to vote for the views and desires of his constituents, unless the presented demands are so clearly and positively antagonistic to the views of the represented as to leave a decided duty to State and Nation. But the representative must constantly keep in mind that he is a member of the Government body of the Nation, and as such owes duties to guard the welfare of the people at large, as well as his constituents, and the welfare of a part must ever be subordinate to the welfare of the whole. Governing is a very complicated business, which cannot be left haphazard to any citizen of a republic, but trained men, edu-

cated and well informed, are essential to good successful government, men with initiative to start things, men with broad liberal views to do justice to and respect the views of all.

Now in the second place it is the duty of every representative, as an integral unit of government, to guard, respect, and defend the constitution of the central Government, from which the governing powers are derived, and the various laws, enactments, and governing rules of the nation and of the body of which he is a member. Should we publicly criticise the President of the United States, the judges of our Courts, the members of ruling and investigating bodies and commissions? When such matters are not under discussion, such public utterances are unwise, unfair, and derogatory to the ruling authority, and we should recognize a certain sacredness of the rule of those elected to office to permit them discretionary action. When such matters are legally under discussion, preliminary details may well be confined to investigation records, and not published broadcast, to breed disrespect, lack of confidence, and disobedience. We have three independent departments of legislative growth, the incepting, the amending, and the concluding executive. If one goes wrong we do not fly into a rage and berate our initiative for lack of patriotism, but after the proposed act is presented and passed in the House it journeys to the Senate for reference work, committee work, and amendment. It is passed as presented, passed as amended, rejected, or dies in committee, and only after the closest scrutiny can it reach the executive or final judgment,

where again it may be refused official sanction, and then two thirds majority are needed to pass the veto. So the legislative must co-operate with the judges, who interpret legislation, and here again the statutory enactment must run the gauntlet of constitutional approval, and we have placed all these safeguards to hold back waves of theoretically patriotic reforms which might jeopardize the foundations of our republican institutions.

Government is the organized instrument of authority, to realize the common ideals of a community, and enforce the will of the majority against the represented minority, and it is essential that there be in the collective representative body no friction of these ideals or purposes, no matter how well-defined such differences and objectives appear among the constituents or parties represented. That is to preserve the unity and cohesive action of the central governing body, and to merge all local divergent antagonisms in the represented, into one unit of authority in the representing, whose decrees, moreover, shall be laws unto all the nation, as a united people. The power of united mental authority, established in justice and righteousness, is by far more substantial than control resting upon the unsubstantial foundation of organized force, but the power of the will of the people must nevertheless be backed by powers of the units represented, to enforce decrees upon every unit, for in the unity and cohesion of the whole lie the strength and power of organized government. Our self-imposed, unmoved, immovable, constitutional limitations protect us from unsympa-

thetic revolution, and protect the realm from radicalism, so that our republican institutions have rounded out and developed by a natural series of evolutions, and as we have learned the lessons of republicanism, these great truths are slowly but surely being incorporated into every Court and legislature, to restrain license and anarchy, and to entrench public service. The importance of the individual is not lessened, but rather emphasized, for as a self-directive unit of a self-conscious organization of authority, where the welfare of one is recognized as the welfare of all, every individual citizen merits and receives personal government attention, advice, and co-operation, under the high authority of control, existing and acting by democratic consent. Thus through these various channels of public thought we have developed this government by representation, a government by the highest qualifications of minds, chosen from and by a cohesive public-spirited people, where each representative represents the represented, yet acts as part of the central governing authority, with an independent freedom of thought and action, for the welfare of the whole nation. Thus we have built up the first successful popular democratic government and set an example of continuous stability and unity before all the world, which every nation is rapidly copying and incorporating into popular rule. The essence of this democracy is government by representative men, and the secret of successful government by representation is clothing the central, elected, collective representative body with authority and power to act, legislate, and control as a com-

mittee of independent individuals, each individual representative being vested with the prerogative of independent thought and decision upon every question of State which is relative to the national welfare.

OUR BUSINESS DEMOCRACY

THE time is at hand for America to reach forward toward Business Efficiency and to turn her attention toward honest effort to increase Industry, Science, and the cultivation of conservative statesmanship. The desire to work is an acquired taste, and whether it be the pleasure of manual toil or mental intuition, the results come from habitual practice of virtue learned in early youth. Active minds as well as active muscles crave and are satisfied only by constant exercise, and to men who have acquired habits of concentration of thought there is no contentment except in professional, literary and artistic effort. Statistics prove such strenuous campaigns of activity lengthen life, and it is doubtful if men can destroy or shorten careers by well-regulated labor, no matter how arduous, whether mental or physical. But too many men waste and shorten their lives by unemployment, worry, and low amusements, being too proud to take advantage of real opportunities at hand, because of their not having been educated to appreciate the worth and honor of honest toil. Wealth is accumulated labor; the real criminal is the man who leads an unenergetic, unemployed life, giving nothing to society or humanity, and our modern educational system tends to produce such accomplished but useless drones. Our students

live in haste, write in haste, think in haste, haste to school, and haste from school, fill their minds with many mixed and unintelligible thoughts, and call it an academic education. Thousands of scholars can string many words into sentences, with no idea of their meaning, knowing nothing of theory, science, or physics. They have opinions and theories on everything, and purchase daily sheets of thought, pre-digested, censured, and devoid of all information, truth, and reality, lest by chance the reader might learn something. No scholar ever gained wisdom by unravelling poems and prose in dead languages, although there is much valuable training in studying the style, the thought, and the expression of successful schools of writers, but our educators have not reached the point of appreciation of such fine arguments. Do we teach our students to have opinions and principles or merely to be able to argue on either side of any question that may arise? Is it useful to learn a little of everything under the sun, yet to be really proficient in nothing? If compulsory military training will open the minds of our young men and women to study the problems of existence and principles of right living, then give every youth military training, for it will make them men, and develop their reasoning activity and judgment, and render to society lives of purpose, and forceful, well-directed action and endeavor.

Men have suffered most extreme agonies in their struggles to defend errors honestly taken for truths, but true service is disciplining energies without exhausting them, and building every day more securely

some individual trade or profession. Because of our misconceptions of fundamental principles of political economy, we cannot successfully solve the economical questions before us to-day. The Labor problem resolves itself into providing every laborer with food, clothing, shelter, and reasonable opportunity for recreation, education, and enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for himself and his family, for the Spirit of American Brotherhood should apply from the highest to the lowest so that there be no citizen or group of citizens free from the self-imposed union of healthy political life in this Republic. The Tariff problem resolves itself into the proposition of regulating the national business for the benefit of our own merchants and manufacturers, remembering that in the long run neither high nor low wages, nor high nor low prices have any direct influence or result, as these constantly seek to adjust themselves to the levels of trade and production, for we measure a nation finally only by its productive capacity. The question of politics resolves itself into a proposition of choosing capable leaders, and all useless or needless politicians are deadwood, burdens carried by the public. Likewise the police, firemen, judges, jailors, lawyers, physicians, engineers, artists, school teachers, and Government employees can all be classified as men in special occupations where we want neither too few nor too many, and the more men employed in industrial productive occupations, the fairer can be the distribution of profits and benefits.

There is not a man of us who may not make mis-

takes, who may not fail, who may not suffer from accident or disease, and the first element of brotherhood is to eliminate the taking of profit from every misfortune of a fellowman. To-day the average physician looks upon sickness as his opportunity to measure friendship in fees, every lawyer seeks out accidents and bankruptcies, and ruthless publicity often drives to self-destruction great developers and pioneers of industry, whenever successful competitions claim a victim. The strenuous life is attractive, and we may well extend sympathy, compassion, and assistance to business men whose sole crime is unfamiliarity with unintelligible statutes set like traps in a maze of complexities, and only through lucky chance can an American business man rise to the power of success. The problem of taxation is one of distributing the burden of government support equally upon all citizens, and every citizen should be rated to pay a proper share upon his entire holdings of accumulated wealth. Corporations should never be taxed, for they are not men, but merely industrial factors, and every tax upon a corporation is taxation upon taxation in addition to being a burden upon our industrial life. No man does his duty who does not work, and our prime need is that every American should understand that all his fellow-citizens have like interests, like needs, and like aspirations for success, advancement, and power, and these rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness must be fostered, guarded, and respected by all and for all.

The question of immigration resolves itself into a problem of introducing into our land new blood, new

ideas, and new institutions, for from an economic standpoint we do not need imported labor. One tenth of our population employed can supply the nation with the necessities of life, and another tenth can supply us with luxuries. Importation of labor then makes us a nation hiring men to do labor we should do ourselves, and we cannot afford to have our children unacquainted with honest toil. Neither can we afford to have our cities filled with a low, unemployed foreign element, nor make our nation a refuge for the criminal and dissatisfied classes of Europe, for the near future will undoubtedly see the fall of many crowns as sovereign peoples seize control of empires and install republican institutions. Just as every fruit tree and grapevine needs an annual pruning to free the plant of all non-productive tendrils, which otherwise would sap its productive strength, so our national life must continually be set free from the ever-increasing increments of new business, which must be cut off, in order that the parent stock may turn its life power into fruitage.

The business of legislatures is not to impede and restrict legitimate business, but to increase and regulate industrial progress. A republic does not need to be ruled by fear, but the self-imposed ruling power should be founded on co-operation and good-will. The success of a business democracy demands that all the powers the government can marshal be focussed upon the development of business advantages, to give our leaders fair opportunity to plan out campaigns of industrial production and development, and reap full and commensurate rewards for their labor

without fear of discrimination, and without too high a penalty upon failure.

The matter of statutory control over business is a vital weakness of American progress. The navigation laws have rendered commercial expansion almost impossible, while the anti-trust legislation has in many remarkable ways interfered with and restricted legitimate business, for how can any legislature or Court pass upon contract relationship between individuals or with corporate bodies, except to interpret terms and business relations. Publicity of evil destroys the power of evil, but just so publicity of business details makes successful operation impossible. Clumsy methods of exacting returns, taxes, and refunds, and requiring oaths, bonds, and innumerable inventories, appraisements, assessments, estimates, and other annual documents from every individual and corporation, setting forth in detail every business transaction, hardly permits trade freedom, even though it furnishes employment to thousands of office seekers. Of course, mistakes, if not vital, are overlooked, but great business concerns find little pleasure in filing reports, and placing upon public record facts which they are privileged to hold in secret. Where one corporation secures stock in another, one tax is on one stock, another on the parent stock, including the first, a third upon the corporation holdings of the stockholder, who in addition pays his regular personal and real estate tax on all. Although the Government may collect taxes four times over, there is no gain but great loss, for one hand washes the other, and little or no tax is paid by

the average man on personal holdings. But why require series upon series of corporation and income assessments, when one direct tax on all property holdings of each individual would cover everything, and all in one transaction could be easily ascertained, estimated, and collected? We need a national budget combined with direct, thorough individual taxation to simplify and clarify our national business life.

Meanwhile we write our books full of unnecessary statutes, upon which legislatures and Courts in turn pass and repass, only to have some declared unconstitutional and many repealed. At the last general election a friend remarked to a Senatorial candidate in all earnestness: "If you veto every bill that comes up you will be the most despised man in the legislature, but you will do your duty." That may be an extreme view, but are we not, as a nation, going too far along lines of laws in restraint of trade, business, and freedom to contract? And do we not overlook the other side of giving aid and encouragement to business, instead of imposing red tape and new duties year by year? The reason for this is not far to see. Our professional politicians fill all offices, and lawyers and popular representatives plunge into every suggested escape from every difficulty, without a thought of asking the advice of experts or interested business associations. Indeed, it seems as if our great business pioneers are rather in disrepute, whereas they should be the Solons of America. We cannot afford to have a government by lawyers, unless our systems of education are so revised as to make every lawyer a statesman, and expert along lines of business opera-

tion. Business is bewildered by the maze of complicated statutory law, much of it apparently harmless, but all of it very perplexing to any honest citizen who wishes to be law abiding. Simplicity of design is the foundation stone of success, but how far we travel from simplicity, in these powerful meddling influences, which claim to regulate the ebb and flow of the tides of industry. Is this a Free Country? Then keep it free. When it comes to comparing Common Law with Statutory enactments, we need another Blackstone to put into one volume the general rules and regulations of National and State business operations, and all these special themes upon themes, statutes upon statutes, decisions upon statutes, and decisions upon decisions, may better be relegated to the past, and under the Common Law and Constitution of these United States, present the business men of America with a clean slate, that they may write upon the tablets of history the Magna Charta of Industrial Freedom.

THE HUMAN EQUATION

THE highest ideals and the noblest gems of thought are the heritage of the youth of America, to hold inviolate our sacred emblems of liberty, and advance them to further enlightenment. If we are successfully to achieve the elevation of our social and political standards, with malice toward none and with justice toward all, we must seek out those avenues of truth which engender lofty motives and noble aspirations, and bestow true fellowship upon every brother, making our conception of the neighborhood of life so broad as to include every man, woman, and child, of every land, race, or creed, thus enjoining inestimable blessings upon this land of ours, and universal peace and good-will abroad. The man who gives is blessed, not he who takes away from others, for the good-will of others is far more precious than wealth or territory. What greater act did the French people perform than to place their gift of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor, to cement eternal bonds of friendship? The man who can be a good loser, whose heart burns with such unquenchable love for his fellowmen that he cannot accumulate property while others are in want, lives the noblest, for his life is wrapt up in service to his brothermen and in usefulness to society, to achieve the glorious destiny of humanity by fraternal effort.

Through the stern determination of our forefathers to establish here in America an atmosphere of freedom of conscience, the enjoyment of life, and liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and to maintain the equality before the law of all men, that free institutions might not perish from the earth, we have now this glorious republic, founded and preserved through blood and the bitter tears of strife, yet resplendent with Honor and noble deeds. And we, with all other brothers in Patriotism, Americans free born, severally salute and pledge allegiance to Our Flag and the Brotherhood of Man, inseparable and united forever in Liberty, until we meet again beyond, where there is no parting of the ways, and sorrow never comes, where mankind finds the summum bonum of ideals, the realm of indefinable broader brotherhood, the heaven of Love. Let judges and jurors, Courts and commissions, justices and statesmen, give their utmost efforts, time, and mental power to the discrimination between good and evil, between right and wrong, between truth and error, between justice and injustice, to engender and support good citizenship, honest rulers, and fair business methods, and not to punish every mistake, every failure, and every criminal, degraded and deserving though he may be. Ignorance of the law is no excuse, and protects none, but charity of the law may forgive. Destruction is not reformation, punishment is not correction, and can we not make life better and brighter, rather than cast deeper shadows into every darkness of cruel despair? Cannot society say to every erring brother, "Our love, compassion, and assistance, are turned

toward you, and will follow you every day of your life, and we have learned that forgiveness of error baffles the ingenuity of crime" ?

Too long we have accepted traditional views without thought, seeking refuge in ideas of supernatural powers, which are not supported by definite facts or causes, but are to us sacred doctrines of mystery, not to be lived and practised, but to be believed and held aloft from the lives and influence of common men. No element of reason enters into these vague, inherent conceptions and imaginary emotions, but in mystical contentment, real, live, educated men, with innate inalienable power to succor and comfort their fellowmen, fly to lofty realms of irrational, unintelligent, argumentative impotence, and are simply different from others. The cost to knowledge of an occasional experimental error is nothing in comparison with adhering to dubious dogmas as certainties in this life where nothing is certain but death and taxes. Society itself is constantly under the strain of evolution, and there is no completeness in our finite life, and no individual perfection, for each of us lives not to himself alone, but to others, in a broader social life, where we are not to judge, not to condemn, not to seek our own, but to aid the needy, succor the friendless, visit the sick, obtain employment for those out of work, bring courage to the fearful heart and joy to the sorrowing, in virtue and liberty to increase honor and personal efficiency, for our highest happiness is to share our pleasures and alleviate sorrow.

The normal state of an active human mind is a condition of thinking and acting under the driving

power of the force of ambition. Men accomplish results when they attain the capability of concentrating all power upon one particularly important subject, until that subject is thoroughly and finally mastered and solved. The finished article of thought is the solution, expressed in such concrete form that it is easily understood, and can be applied in practice by others. America needs men whose pulses throb with boundless living physical power in every limb, men of healthy normal thought and keen visions, men who can see, men who can hear, men who can toil silently and effectively. The true fundamental prerogative of business is to supply people with necessities or luxuries, and ninety-five per cent. of our successful business men have discovered their source of fortune, in supplying common, every-day needs of men in their home cities; and they win, not by education nor by luck, but always by an extraordinary capacity for hard work. The man whose mind is fertile in resources has also the qualifications of self-respect and enthusiasm for his work, and his will-power, application, and determination, will win the day. A prominent New York newspaper claimed that one of its advertisers advertised for a book-keeper at sixty dollars a month and received five hundred and two replies to one insertion, but when advertising for a mechanic at the same wages received very few replies. Our young men are too often educated to dress-suit jobs only, and this is something to think over very seriously. Train every youth to fulfil a man's duty in life, to work with both muscle and wit, to develop judgment and inventive

genius, to keep the muscles hard, the body strong, and to dispatch business affairs with energy, promptness, skill, and knowledge. Success in business is achieved in the same manner as a ship crosses the ocean. The course is set right, and then continued, until they reach the other side. So the business man lays his plans for trade, and then attends to all the business faithfully, accommodatingly, and energetically, as it comes in; we say he deserves success, and he does deserve it, and generally gets it.

Love for the artistic and the beautiful is developed in Americans to a high degree, and every artisan, inventor and genius, is toiling to please this temperament of culture. Public libraries in every city abound in works of art, sculptures, and paintings, the enjoyment of which is a privilege of the lowliest as well as the greatest. Railroad stations at terminals are beautiful palaces, as we find the general waiting room at the Union Station at the City of Washington in the District of Columbia, modeled after the Baths of Diocletian in Rome, and the intermediate stations are being built of marble and granite, with well-laid-out lawns and gardens, so that the traveller enjoys trees and shrubbery, birds and landscapes, flowers and scenery, the beauty and wealth of the world, displayed in panorama before his eyes. In no other nation are beauty and perfection worshipped among all classes of the people as in democratic America, as we find in visitations to our Universities and schools of higher thought and learning, where the children of the humblest study the artistic, the noble, and the good, and no avenue to the devel-

opment of genius and wisdom is closed, but the development of every noble and lofty aspiration is encouraged. The world's greatest literature is common property in America and humanity has here unlimited sources of self-instruction always at hand, where lofty minds can daily meet and converse with divine spirits of the past. The realm of learning never loses what it gains, but keeps all in store, and Americans have in most beautifully bound preserved volumes all that is best from the world's highest genius. Poetry and music add sunshine and sweet harmony to American culture, and in our churches and theatres all the grand marches and melodies constantly renew in the present every beautiful, altruistic, and cultured ideal of the past.

America has caught visions of truth and virtue, of simplicity and symmetry, of the relation of the combinations of colors and sounds to human emotions and associations. Our literature portrays the life of the people, the expression of systematic order, of courageous self-reliance, and cultured fair dealing, in a dignified and conscious manner. Admiring readers are moved by the moral and intellectual power of the serious purpose and instinctive responsibility of the objective study of humanitarianism among the American people, dealing frankly with life, both as it is and as it may be improved, with the objective in view to open the way for every ambitious and talented person to have the opportunity to toil effectively, thus raising continually the average level of popular intelligence, adding new contributions to higher education, and increasing the general store of

learning in philosophy, in science, and in art. Knowledge and virtue are generally diffused through the free intercourse of the people, and the next step in progress is to unify and assimilate our stores of truth and wisdom, to increase frugality, industry, sincerity, and benevolence, to learn to think concisely and independently, and act conservatively, with nobleness of purpose. Train noisy enthusiasm into the harness of hard work, with definite objectives in view, and teach men individualism in their trade and calling, but communism in their relationships to National ideals. The central thought of this idea is that if only men can know each other better, strife, envy, and discord will cease, and they will be good and faithful friends, charitably inclined to assist every good project, and never to question and interfere with every developing activity and purpose in human enterprise. It is the work of republics to emblazon in golden characters upon the chronicles of human events the humanities, the rights of man, the sympathy and co-operation of all for the common good and welfare of men everywhere; and to accomplish this great purpose, sympathy must never be merely sentimental nor romantic, but a deep, altruistic, comprehensive love of men, inclusive and boundlessly operative, simply because of the presence of this human equation in our commentary of the privilege and duties of existence.

There is a secret in working and waiting for results, with confidence that results follow labor as the night the day. Men differ in the amount of vigor with which they apply their talents to work, and if we

measure the vigor, we measure the man. The accomplishment of a great artist or scientist depends only in part upon his education, his knowledge, his skill, and his appliances, and primarily arises from his ability to vigorously concentrate his talents upon the labor. Fine tools will become dull, and skill and knowledge valueless, unless an active, vigorous mind drives thought to action. Self-reliance and confidence are self-assertive qualities, without which most exceptional attainments rust away uselessly. The vigor of activity makes no distinction and no exceptions, but plunges toward the goal; great shadows scatter, barriers are burned away, and difficulties are easily surmounted, when men cease circumspection and theories, and meet every adversity face to face, plunging in thrust upon thrust, with the naked sword of their grim determination, that the objective in view shall be accomplished at the sacrifice of life itself, if need be. Confidence and vigorous action at once beget confidence and unfailing friends, and there is no leader so insignificant who does not attract a following the minute he reveals to men his qualifications for leadership. Men follow leaders not creeds, systems not theories, action not motives; and here lies the explanation of mob eccentricity, and the leader who perceives this characteristic has learned the source of his power over men. There is a glory to intelligence, an eloquence to confidence, a vindication in accomplished results and objectives attained, which men read, and the respect of men for men cannot exceed the self-respect of the respected for themselves.

The innate will of man demands the subjugation of all things to itself, and is tempered only by cultivated, unselfish generosity, of which the foundation pillars are fraternity and fair play. Inventors form, with their own hands, the models and designs of great mechanical inventions, while all great masterworks of literature, painting, and art, are designed, written, moulded, or portrayed upon canvas by the authors in their own handiwork. Americans are a people of active unrest, demanding individual opportunity to labor effectively. We shall never turn back, and never falter, but keep in mind for the nation, as for the individual, all for one and one for all, with the singleness of purpose to promote and engender a universal brotherhood to which no man or woman shall be a stranger. The enforced authority of caste may in a minor degree exist even in a family, as the Irishman beat his son saying: "'Tis not because I hate you, I bate you, but to show the authority I have over you." The power of brute force control must be overcome and vanquished by civilization and altruism, and the ultimate end of labor should never be profit, but the elevation of the standard of welfare, that each works to live, and lives for the common good. This simply removes the innate desire of man to attain progressive ideals of beneficial service, from the individual to the nation, and from nationalism to the race. Sturdy, self-made men are easily distinguished from those propped up by wealth and family influence, and when the test comes, abuse, ridicule, and threatened defeat only arouse vigorous manhood to fierce tenacity of purpose, and the world

is changed by mental heroes, who call the race from barbarism to charitable good-will.

The attitude of a race worker is not that of impetuous strain, but of mind immovably concentrated upon its objective, and criticism is accepted only when it points out a misunderstanding of some local cause, effect, or relationship. Critics must have the faculty of achieving their own success, with level-headed, well-balanced development, or they will be more a provocation and hindrance than assistance. A successful director only tells his orderly what to do, and never details to him how to do it, leaving that to his own personal common sense and custom, unless it is desired to teach him some special method or short schedule of action. The man who can conceive great plans can scarcely fail to perceive also the intermediate approaches to the several avenues of development, leading to the central thought, for having both points of objective in view, the connecting line between is plainly visible, and the servant seldom lacks such power of discrimination as shows him the shortest avenue of approach when once the beginning is made. We can never have true reform except the public universally accept the change. No reform is accomplished by statute nor by force, but only when it is in complete, accepted operation within the social structure. A man becomes an oarsman when his hand is calloused to friction, his waist strengthened to strain, and his arm, mind, and eye trained to involuntary performance of the necessary exertions. He does not become an oarsman by chance but by effort and hard practice; and, likewise, men learn their

trades and increase mental and physical ability, never by chance, but by conscious, intelligent effort. If we can only teach men to help themselves, and exert this effort in improving personal talent, they will work out their own salvation, and we need never worry how, where, or why, but aim only to cause the concentration of mind and muscle upon the attainment of the objectives in view.

It is thoughts of real life that interest men, and writers and orators hold attention when they relate what they have lived through, what they have experienced, and what they have seen and known. The lens, concentrating the rays of the sun, will burn a hole wherever it strikes, and so when men concentrate their life experience into literature and art, it cuts its mark upon the hearts of men as a diamond upon glass. Every educated man has the ability to accomplish great things, but if the care of property and the demands of society dissipate his time, his life is spent in controversy and gossip; but put this same man upon the firing line, free from diversion, and he will immediately concentrate his ability upon some definite, attainable purpose. The courageous man creates zeal in others by his personal magnetic qualities, manfully encountering opposition and difficulties, and courageously enduring toil and hardships. The teaching and command of every successful leader are always positive: "Steady, now, Forward March," and as the line moves forward, meet and overcome all difficulties which are presented. Before the march is under way, the advancing army arranges, as far as possible, to dispose of all anticipated opposition,

preparing necessary accoutrement, tools, and equipment, but leaves the actual solution of every problem until it is met face to face. No man achieves notable success who is not prepared: also no notable success is achieved except at some actual risk in the making. As the doomed ship was about to break up, and the sailors despaired of even saving their lives, in the often-related story, a young seaman tied a cord about his waist, swam to the shore, hauled in a rope, and fastened it to a tree, and saved the crew. He combined his ability to swim with the daring to risk his life in the elements, and success was his reward. Men are intensely interested in the adventures and activities of men; timidity is a moral blemish, and fear a mental deformity; these the winner must overcome, and then add common sense to caution and indomitable courage, to reach the goal.

The enthusiastic man is not only a good companion, but generally makes ends meet ends. The man who seeks beauty in nature, songs in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything, is more than merely a good-natured optimist; we find him moulding good out of evil and practical results out of impossible circumstances. The man who would erect a high structure must first work under most disagreeable circumstances, perhaps in quicksand or bedded rock, he digs a deep foundation, and that is all necessary, but after the foundation is complete, he mounts higher, and works in the glorious sunshine. By faithful toil in lowly life we prove our worth for greater, more lofty enterprises, but discontent never accomplishes anything, acting only as a drag to dis-

courage and hinder others. Enthusiasm with a magic wand touches the tongue with poetry and song, and inspires lofty sentiments and good resolutions. Enthusiasm meets toil and hardship, and sees only the hope beyond, transforming despair into confidence, slothfulness into energy, and vain endeavor into accomplishment. Life is a ladder upon which men climb as high as their ambition soars, and the man who cannot be provoked, but willingly beareth all things and endureth all things, seldom endures vainly, for hard-working, prudent men never have to complain of hard luck. The enthusiastic man generally sleeps soundly, has a good appetite, meets every experience of life with a smile, and his cheerful disposition adds harmony and contentment to the every-day living of his friends.

The man who is careful, who makes an exhaustive study of every subject, and finishes every project completely before he leaves it, is the man who earns a reputation for honest efficiency. The aeroplane may crash to the ground if the small, insignificant, directive lever snaps or fails to clutch the rudder; one weak link in a chain renders the whole unserviceable; and a small amount of foreign substance in the muzzle of a rifle will cause the barrel to explode. Work in preparation counts double, as the pilot who studies navigation charts after the vessel has struck a rock is like the man who gives advice after the damage is wrought, and lessons are learned by the hard road of experience. It is saving the pennies that makes the dollars, and attending to little things that makes a complete and perfect whole. "There are thousands

of excellent physicians in America, why do you excel?" was asked of a famous surgeon. "Because I never neglect the smallest trifle," he replied. It is an old saying: "A thin horse for a long race", and nothing does a young lawyer so much good as to be defeated, baffled, and rebuffed until in desperation he fights hard and learns that the greatest men can be easily defeated in an unjust cause. It is related of a famous author that he read ten thousand books to write a masterpiece, and left no corner of literary thought unexplored before he ventured upon his road to achievement. The engineer who gets the big job is the man who can plan out diagrams of a prospective tunnel so that the sections will meet without the variation of an inch at the centre, concisely computing every distance and dimension to an absolute exactness of perfection. It takes time, it takes care, it takes hard work, but the final results are worthy of the price paid.

If the sacredness of life means anything, it means the development of active ethical rules of conduct put in practice, and not passive theories held mentally in check, for the consideration of generation after generation, playing with terms and words. Life is real, and we need real, live men, not with imaginations but with deep experience and ability. The need is to study and perceive real perils among men, to preach sanity and logic, to dispel panicky fears, to seek a remedy for every ill.

Society is full of imperfections, but it is a seething mass where the evil is constantly brought to view, and may be easily eradicated by consistent, correc-

tive, eliminative effort. Our perfect state of bliss is not yet a realization, and mankind will require the application of dynamic force upon many generations, to remove even preventable vices and sufferings from our midst, so knowledge and power are everywhere in demand to-day, and blessed is he who spends his life making smooth the rough places of men's lives, providing aid, cheer, comfort, and the necessities of life to those in need. Practical common sense constantly conflicts with ideals, because the thought of man, not in close constant touch and sympathy with his fellowmen, is fantastic and unreasoning. His conception of equality is the best for himself, and inequality for all others, and often men struggle to share in every contention and argument, not because of any personal interest or knowledge of the application of principles, but like the political stump speaker, to be seen, to be heard, and to have their say. Can we not bring our lives down to hard real facts, admit society is imperfect, admit we have the power to accomplish improvements of society, and wherever we can perceive the damaging conditions, make it our personal business to understand them, seek out and find a remedy, and then apply the remedy? The worst we can do is to seek out and guess at a remedy and then ask some one else to apply it.

Justice is a term as evasive as injustice, and it is equally necessary to quiet loud complaints as to remove the condition by which they are aroused. Men defeated in politics are so filled with prejudice and antagonisms as never to be able to discuss fairly the merits of their defeat. But often people, disap-

pointed in social leadership, are equally difficult to reconcile, and their undigested notions of intentional insults, where no intent was even remotely dreamed of, to wound their vanity, stir every social sea, and place every friend in the dilemma of losing their friendship, by telling them the truth, or playing the delicate part of straddling the fence between the contending parties. Social schemers thus hold excessive power without labor or responsibility, deceive themselves in a false belief that they are useful members of society, and the injustice of this social tyranny of impressions and delusions is apparent to all workers who aim to accomplish permanent, consistent results. There is no social independence in reality, no method to avoid illogical nightmares of notions and emotions, but strong and mighty is the man who dares stand out brave and true and demands justice. Against the social and political elect, he who faces the crowd in the cause of right always sooner or later wins over the crowd to the realization of the beatitudes of truth.

The educated men of the race have planned out, wrought upon, and accomplished the vast achievements credited to the progress of man, while the poor downtrodden hosts have toiled, sweated, and provided protection and sustenance. It is not the part of wisdom to suggest or encourage impossible dreams and illusionary ambitions in the minds of mediocre men and women for these have brought untold hardships to many, and unless, by temperament or education, youth is trained to selective opportunities, the road is hard, if not utterly impossible, for a matured

mind to alter both vocation and training, and by some mysterious conquest of will-power to gain heights of fame and ease. Better contentment and sufficiency, than worry and unproductive toil, and success does not always consist in wealth and station, even if by any possibility such may be acquired. The man who loses honorably and squarely is a better man than he who wins unfairly, and the tinted violet blushing in the shady dell is far more beautiful than many a larger, flashier flower of highway fame.

There is a voice of reason in every man, which stands ready to solve every social problem, and decide every issue of life, if we only apply the measure: "Is it right or is it wrong?" Man's inhumanity to man has made countless thousands mourn, and this is the function of the human equation, to eradicate man's inhumanity, and upon the foundation stones of self-sacrifice, love, and service, to render man's sufficiency for all, and the alleviation of the sorrow-pangs of vengeance, tribulation, and deadly strife. At the merest suggestion of scandal against a fellowman, tongues wag, and every door of sympathy, assistance, and correction is closed, not that men are intentionally uncharitable, but because of envy, vanity, and deceit, and every fall of virtue lends a charm of excuse for personal shortcomings. Let him who is perfect repeat reports of men's frailty, but it is the essence of charity and brotherly love to consider the suffering hearts of those who love the fallen, and do to others as we would have them do to us. There are so many big things in life that in dealing with the faults of others we need only charity to forgive, con-

solation for the attendant sufferings, and exhortation to lead a better life.

Punishment should never be meted out by man to man except as an influence for correction or as a necessary protection to society. It is our duty to alleviate suffering, not to increase it; and by placing retaliative punishment upon a wrongdoer, we redouble the efficiency of crime to cause discord and turmoil. Righteousness is an everlasting fountain, and love covereth all sins, and if we only can teach the people wisdom and charity, envy and strife will cease. A friend loveth at all times and a brother is made for adversity; love must never depend upon causes and benefits received to be true love, but must rise in the soul, a bubbling spring of kindly, consciously thoughtful consideration for the best welfare of others, the living waters of the beautiful things of life, a joy forever. There is one glory of the sun and another of the moon, but the wise shall inherit glory, and shall not lack any good thing. Just as a soft answer turneth away wrath, love quencheth violence, and we can overcome evil with good. Except under the most extenuating circumstances we cannot use fire, the power and source of destruction, to quench fire, but we use water, the source of life, to quench fire, the source of destruction.

The poor and the sorrowing we have with us always, so long as our life is finite, for man is born to suffering and tribulation as the sparks fly upward. In the exuberancy of youth the frailty of man is forgotten in the strength of manhood, and in the days of age, the heart throbs of compassion are dulled by stiff

joints and debility. But it is well worth our while, time and time again, to contemplate the lives of unselfish men, whose good deeds and usefulness have been limited only by the natural boundaries of restrictions upon opportunity. As we look up and lift up, no diamond can ever flash with diviner beauty than that of the drop of pure water, sparkling in the warm sunshine, which cools the parched tongue of the suffering soldier on the field of battle. No red carnations are so fragrant or beautiful as those which sweet charity prompts us to wreath upon the brow of sadness, to cheer the bed of sickness and pain. No sentiments are so holy as those which bestow blessings and useful service to a famished world. The birds warble in the tree tops, the dewdrops form upon the grass, the rain falls from heaven upon the just and unjust, while bright sunshine equally warms weeds and flowers, all for the boundless, universal welfare of man; and shall the heart of man fail to reflect the completeness and loving harmony of nature? It takes a terrible calamity to thoroughly arouse the deep, generous charity of a nation, but the world increases in gentleness and compassion, as death places vacant chairs in home circles, stirring love with sympathy, awakening conscience with suffering, and engendering generous noble deeds to assuage the mother's grief for her dead babe, or fill the little hands of orphans with hospitality and cheer. The education of the human heart in boundless nobility proceeds amid the blackest clouds of horrible disaster, as the diseases of men are healed and their glorious destiny shown by kind words and loving deeds.

Charity likewise must be extended from politics and society into business and government, for we have lost the services of our greatest leaders and statesmen in affairs, because of their fear of being turned out of office, branded as incompetent, because they know that the putting into practice of their theories of much-needed system and order will be temporarily unpopular. Just as men should not give much advice, but carefully advise well, if at all, our legislatures should not legislate so much, but legislate constitutionally and with definite objects in view. Half of our legislation is suppressive, to quiet the demands of a disturbed people, just as we place a pacifier in the mouth of a crying babe; and statesmen find it easier to pacify popular unrest than to correct misinformation, and educate the people to devotion and attention to public affairs. Yet second thought, like second wind, is the best, and when men understand the necessity for penalties against infringement of law to maintain order, they realize the remedy is in the correction of faults in our representative government, and not in the overthrow of any fundamental institution of liberty. The great fabric of our common law does not depend upon legislation, but upon the development of moral thought and the improvement of trade methods by custom, so that laws are made by conduct and are in reality a picture of the conscious, progressive thought of the people. It is a mistake for men to become infatuated with special temporary needs of men, and strive to fasten upon all future generations unbending, unalterable rules of conduct to suit their own fancy. Millions of

men died to make Napoleon's word law for a day, and so it has ever been when mortal man attempts to stamp his personal mark upon the complex forms of human advancement. We must permit our rulers to use their best judgment to obtain for all men the utmost liberty of the use and enjoyment of their personal talent and property, consistent with like privileges and rights to other men, and not chafe under just restrictions, but remember that respect for those who undertake the highly difficult task of properly guiding our ship of state is the highest duty of every true democratic citizen of the Republic.

The object of complex civilization is to preserve the freedom of individual development, protecting all citizens and groups of citizens from aggression, but when evil is imagined, and men rage up and down the earth, clamoring for that which society cannot bestow, how great is the embarrassment of rulers. The true expression of government is always emphasized in the protection, extension, and development of industrial combinations, and as it is understood and practised, simply seeks to maintain the authority and power of fundamental, unalienable truths, upon which all successful rule is operative, and which contain the vital merit of all equitable justice of action and reaction. These fundamental tenets of order we can neither enact nor repeal, but merely emphasize and build upon, and whenever statutory law has performed its temporary function it can consistently be repealed, and the unwritten law remains unchanged. Permanent injury to a community always arises whenever any law of special privilege is forced

even upon a minority; political and legislative charity may seem a most evasive, undefinable, characteristic of legislative effort, yet that is what we need most to-day, with our boundless wealth and incomparable industrial opportunities, to keep the apex of cumulative authority in the hands of a firm, conscientious, central, controlling power, unfettered by restrictive law, and unamenable to punishment for the supremacy of fundamental constitutional precepts over statutory enactments.

This new school of Americanism places a man above the dollar and declares that even the interpretation and enforcement of law may in the last final analysis rest in a judicial determination of equitable justice. Instead of legally crushing a bankrupt, and scattering his assets, good-will, and resources to the four winds of heaven, equity steps in and preserves property rights from destruction, and no matter how often unreasoning popular demands have overthrown this Guardian of Righteousness, like eternal Truth crushed to earth, she has arisen with new power and new wings of healing. Popular discontent is difficult to arouse and more difficult to suppress; it feeds upon poverty, inequality, and fancied wrong. But the people of America are open to proof and conviction, and if a reasonable time is allowed for working out and justifying courses of government action by results, the people will realize that checks and balances upon their power exist for their welfare, as bulwarks of protection against conspiracy, exploitation, and intrigue; for that plane revolves smoothest which rests upon the finest, sharpest, and hardest point of

fulcrum, so that friction is minimized to the remotest degree, and the actual point of contact is inconceivably small.

If we are to have certainty in law, inconsistent as it may seem, we cannot limit by law the capacity of normal growth and expansion of legal business, nor permanently establish by law the stability of trade, the destruction or increase of competition, and the normal currents of commerce. Thoughts, business plans, experimental knowledge, and financial standing are all valuable property rights, and the success or failure of many a firm depends upon whether its financial instability can be positively proved or discovered, or whether its stability is positively beyond question or publicly so accepted. Yet law may reduce the complexities of business growths to less complex forms, and indeed it appears advisable to standardize immediately all individual and corporate conduct, so that none can take advantage of others because of temporary local legislation; and if all such local restrictive legislation were done away with, business would improve and reorganize upon better and broader systems of service. Until our national legislative bodies realize this imperative need, and present the American people with uniform laws over all states, concerning matters of the welfare of men in business affairs, we shall continue to have combinations in restraint of trade, confusion in business, and political and social unrest in our interstate matters.

The common law of a united people must be so broad as to be a rule of justice to all men, to pro-

fect every individual from unfair tactics, dishonest methods, and aggressive attacks upon personal privilege. Men must never be deprived of freedom to seek employment wherever they desire, for these personal privileges are as free as the air and sunshine. There is a tyranny of an individual, the tyranny of a class, the tyranny of a multitude, and all alike are destructive of sober and moderative freedom of thought and action. This great element of the human equation, which we may term equitable charity, is too broad to fetter, and popular intelligence will admit that glaring contrasts represent great moral evils, and no matter how discrimination and inequality arise, these are the signs of social disease and error, and the duty of society is ever to raise the fallen, and bend the powerful to the yoke of respect for authority. We do not permit any evasion or contempt of law, but we seek uniformity, equality, and equity in the application, enactment, and distribution of legal measures, so that the regulation of all business shall conform to set standards and rules of conduct, defining all rights of trade dealings, and all redress for individual and social protection, to prevent repetitions of offences against these established rules of conduct. We cannot wipe out institutions, as the schoolboy with sponge and water cleans his slate, for there are certain rights of man which are unchanging, inalienable, and omniperative, recognized, fundamental axioms, and as two and two always make four, so these standards of justice never change; wisdom and authority are always the same, only the local conditions change, and the most important duty of legislative bodies is

to protect all legitimate industry, trade, and commerce from sudden popular whims and fancies. Leadership must be capable, understanding, and beyond corrupting influences, to bestow upon the governed such righteousness as exalteth a nation; envy must be discouraged; obedience must be taught; and the sound, working, old-fashioned principles of simple attention to business must be promulgated, to make the paths of duty straight and free to all.

There is in educated man a most remarkable power of adaptation to circumstances which well befits the highest world creation; when food fails on land, he seeks the sea; when the mountains deny sustenance he removes to the valleys; he seeks out unknown new destinies in the arctic cold, as well as in tropical forest, all because of his power of deliberate thought and reason. Wherefore, we keep free this human equation, to adapt our life to changing circumstances, considering that every earthly gift has some use, and will ultimately meet some human need, as national consciousness awakens, and new circumstances require other and unforeseen remedial action. Why should the vast multitude of ordinary men and women be so deeply concerned and worried over economic crises as to leave the haunts of honest toil and rack their minds with problems of statesmanship? Soften every organization of men with a recognition of the eternal principles of brotherhood, love, and friendship. Meet labor on its own ground of proposed legislation to equalize the welfare of all; meet controversy with patience, good-will, and the soft answer which turneth away wrath; men and women

will work and toil wonderfully, if work and toil are popularly meritorious, as we say, the pervading style of activity, and why can we not educate our people to regard idleness as the badge of disgrace? Just as children are the sweet, fragrant flowers of human life, so the health and welfare of all the people are foremost governmental objectives, and it takes no stretch of our powers of imagination to perceive the great future beneficial community service which our children may conceive of, and put into operation, to organize and preserve a modern, altruistic community, whose beneficial powers will be operative perpetually upon all the people.

In every world crisis democracy [has proved true to her understanding of patriotism, rendering inestimable service to all mankind, and commending a quickened responsibility in the hearts of all men, to sacrifice every personal desire, to secure and maintain fair play, justice, and equality of treatment, with courage, foresight, and unselfishness, standing for the rights of men everywhere. Righteousness breeds courage, and as the coward imagines dangers, the righteous man adds valor to strength, and stands for the right, whatever be the cost. There can be no neutral ground between fair play and aggression, nor can we confuse words with deeds in passing final judgment upon the fundamental precepts of equitable conduct. No ideals should so influence our understanding as to make us cease to regard human affairs in the light of actual lives of living men, to know and study every habit, custom, and ideal, before we judge their imperfections or hasten to bind them

with permanent bonds of restriction, for there is no man so low to whom some sense of honor does not appeal, and all men must be judged upon their merits, as men, in their own peculiar environments. It is contrary to the true spirit and intent of democracy to judge men by any standards of popularity, style, or belief, but simply by the qualities of mercy, honesty, justice, and truth. We need men who can organize industry, and men who can work in field and factory; we need men who can uphold authority, and do what is right, though the heavens threaten to fall; we need men who will battle in the trenches for righteousness, with fearless courage and unyielding endurance, until the recognition of the rights of man retains its ascendancy; and our industries and social life are so organized that the equality of every man before the law is a recognized reality, making the human equation part and parcel of the governmental consideration of this Republic, and removing beyond the confines of possibility, injustice, cruelty, and oppression by man against his fellowmen.

Popular education trains our youth in equality to reverence the free institutions of the Nation and preserve inviolate its traditions and precedents. Individually man is a helpless animal, but in union and under government he becomes the sovereign lord of all creation. The hope of Our Democracy rests upon the respect for the union of men under authority, as exemplified in Our Government under Our Constitution, which preserves to all individuals every opportunity for self-development and individual success. Not by might, nor by power, nor by upheavals of

social relationship shall reformation come, but ever by the evolution of co-operation, system, and order in society, so that, with patience, humility, and obedience, let him that would be greatest among you, serve the best.

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